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THE COMING SESSION.

IN a few days any curiosity which may prevail on the subject will be gratified both by the list of Ministerial measures for the Session, and by the preliminary indications of tactics to be pursued by the Opposition. It may be conjectured that Bills for sanitary purposes, and perhaps for a more complete system of local government, will be introduced to redeem the pledge which was given by Mr. DISRAELI some years ago in one of the oddest of misquotations. *Sanitas sanitatum*, which means, if it means anything, the superlative perfection of health, is still a remote object of desire. Ideal sanitary arrangements will certainly not result from the exertions of the local governments which Mr. BRIGHT wishes to create in rural districts. Municipal administration in large towns is tolerably efficient, notwithstanding the frequent exclusion from the Town Councils of intelligent inhabitants who have the misfortune to belong to the political minority. Some leading members of a great Corporation are nearly certain to entertain enlightened views, and the permanent paid officers, who exercise great and deserved influence, are almost always on the side of improvement. In country places, the Unions will probably be the administrative districts, and the Guardians, or persons of the same character and similarly elected, will form the governing body. It may well happen that the farmers, who will often be the most powerful section of the constituency, will feel comparatively little interest in the condition of the villages in their neighbourhood. With their own premises they and their landlords are competent to deal, and they are not directly concerned with the drainage and water supply which in country villages are almost always defective. In this matter the public opinion even of the immediate sufferers is seldom favourable to innovation. A country labourer has fresh air enough out of doors, and he utterly dislikes it at home. In many cases he is probably right in preferring warmth to ventilation; but he is unfortunately indifferent to crowding, and uncritical as to the quality of water which is not offensive to sight or taste. Almost the only water which tends to produce disease is that which is drawn from wells in the neighbourhood of dwellings. Rivers, streams, and springs of many different degrees of purity are equally wholesome; but in the majority of cases villagers depend on more or less suspicious wells. The institution of local governing bodies to effect objects which neither they nor their constituents regard as desirable will not justify sanguine expectations of improvement; but, according to Lord DERBY, the public offices are full of Bills waiting for introduction, and those which correspond with popular theories will be likely to receive a preference. In no previous Session for many years has there been less external demand for legislation. It is much to be wished that the evil genius of Governments may not find mischief for idle hands to do.

Mr. DISRAELI need not be alarmed by any expectation that a rival policy will be proposed by the Opposition. The leaders of the party are not yet unanimous in favour of the extension of household suffrage to counties, though Mr. DISRAELI himself has on more than one occasion encouraged the change in ambiguous phrases. The introduction of Mr. TREVELYAN's annual motion has a tendency to counteract the most formidable schism which threatens the Conservative party. In several counties since the institution of the Ballot the tenant-farmers have shown a disposition to separate themselves from the landlords,

although, as at the present time in North Shropshire, their candidates are still nominally Conservatives. The measure which would summarily deprive both landlord and tenant of electoral power is probably more obnoxious to the occupiers than to the owners, because the farmer comes into immediate contact with the labourer, and understands the risks which may result from rural agitation. No other attempt will be made for the present in the direction of organic or constitutional change. Mr. BRIGHT, indeed, thought that a redistribution of seats might perhaps precede in time even an alteration of the county franchise; but on this question also the Opposition is disunited; and the Conservative majority would in case of need be reinforced by the representatives of constituencies which would be threatened with extinction. In dealing with questions of secondary interest, such as those which will probably occupy the ensuing Session, an Opposition has no opportunity of competing with the Government. Amendments in the Judicature Act, or in the Education Act, must necessarily be proposed, if they are required, by the heads of the proper departments. It may be conjectured that the LORD CHANCELLOR will not renew the proposal for withdrawing appellate jurisdiction from the House of Lords, especially as the leading member of the combination which defeated the measure last year has lately obtained a step in the peerage.

Lord HARTINGTON will in the first instance dispose his field for the purpose of profiting by any miscarriage in the Government innings. It is perhaps unlucky for the Opposition that the Fugitive Slave Circular has been made the pretext for a spurious local agitation. Mr. BRIGHT's significant avoidance of the topic in his speech at Birmingham has since been explained in a manner which proves that his memory was better than Mr. FORSTER'S. It is now known that Mr. GLADSTONE'S Government issued instructions of a more stringent nature, although it had the good sense not to publish the Circular in the newspapers. The most appropriate comment on the late Ministerial scrape was supplied by Mr. BRIGHT's quotation of Lord MELBOURNE'S wise saying, "Why can't you let it alone?" It is true that the first version of the Circular was full of gratuitous blunders both in policy and in international law; but if the substance of the instructions had been confidentially communicated to commanding officers, and if a margin of discretion had been allowed them, little harm would have been done. The second corrected Circular is comparatively unobjectionable, and Mr. GLADSTONE'S colleagues will not share the misapprehension of local agitators who fancy that England is pledged to interfere with the institution of slavery wherever it exists. If the doctrines which were preached at Birmingham and elsewhere had been practised twenty years ago, the result would probably have been war with the United States. Demagogues who sneer at international comity are probably at other times agitators in favour of universal peace. The efforts of England to suppress the slave trade sometimes infringed on the rights of independent nations; but Lord PALMERSTON, who carried the principle of philanthropic interference further than his predecessors, never claimed a right to interfere with domestic slavery beyond the limits of the Empire.

On the question of the Suez Canal purchase the Government is strong, if it knows how to profit by its position. It will be prudent to guard, by previous understanding, against any possible difference of tone in the explanations which will be respectively given in the Lords and the Commons. Lord

DERBY has on one or two occasions almost played into the hands of his adversaries by depreciating, probably for diplomatic reasons, the gravity of a transaction which can only have been justified by weighty reasons of policy. Mr. DISRAELI's mysterious eloquence will be better adapted to the defence of a measure which can scarcely at present be explained in all its reasons and probable consequences. If any Opposition speaker exceeds the limits of patriotic reticence, he will lay himself open to just criticism on the part of the Ministers. Mr. DISRAELI will know how to make use of the attacks on his policy which have been made by unfriendly commentators in foreign countries. It is not on the ground of injudicious speculation or of irregular stock-jobbing that Russian journalists affect to complain of the purchase. That Mr. DISRAELI and Lord DERBY have been at the same time dupes and profoundly unscrupulous conspirators is a proposition difficult to establish. In defending an act of foreign policy a Minister has almost always the advantage over his adversaries. The country knows that it is pledged by the measures of its confidential agents, and it is unwilling to believe that both are in the wrong. In the particular case public opinion is already favourable to the policy of the Government. Notwithstanding the arguments which are exhaustively urged in the *Edinburgh Review*, the country cannot but think that the ownership of half the share capital of the Canal must involve some influence over its management and fortunes.

The most difficult and invidious task of the Session will perhaps be assigned to Mr. HARDY. A proposal to increase the Army Estimates may probably be defensible, but it can scarcely be popular. The object of an augmented expenditure will be open to criticism; and the large number of members who have no opinion on military matters will regard additional charges with distaste. There is no longer any hope of a considerable surplus in the revenue; and the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER will be disappointed if his plan for reducing the Debt cannot even in the second year begin its operation. If increased Estimates are introduced, the Government will at least be entitled to the credit of conscientious convictions. No party advantage can result from a measure which nevertheless may be required by the public interest.

MR. CAVE'S MISSION.

ALTHOUGH it is improbable that the precise results of Mr. CAVE's mission to Egypt will be known, even to the Cabinet, before the meeting of Parliament, yet it may be expected that he will have had time to collect and transmit home the general facts on which a correct view of the financial position of Egypt must depend. Enough will be known to enable the Ministry not to make any very great mistake when they defend or describe the operation by which they have risked four millions on behalf of the nation. At any rate they will be in a position to explain what it was that Mr. CAVE went to do. It was supposed that he was sent to help the VICEROY, to show that embarrassed potentate how much he owed and how he could best or most nearly pay it. For a system of Egyptian finance a system of English finance was to be substituted. The VICEROY was to be made to understand that people who spend more than they have got are apt to become insolvent, and that those who are nearly insolvent must retrench in a bold and manly way if they wish to avoid becoming insolvent altogether. Mr. CAVE was to look into the figures, see what the VICEROY owed, what he could do now, and how his affairs could be best administered for the future. Nor would such a process be useful to the VICEROY only. We, with our newly acquired interest in Egypt, might reasonably wish to know on unimpeachable authority what Egypt is worth, what are its present resources, and its capabilities for the future. A large amount of Egyptian bonds also is held in England, and it would be comforting to many Englishmen that Egyptian finance should for the future be under English management. At any rate, whatever there was to come to them would be sure to come; and if Egypt was so governed as to put solvency before everything else, it seemed certain that a great deal would come to them. It was in accordance with this view of Mr. CAVE's mission that the statement of the interference of the English Government to prevent the continuance of the VICEROY's war with Abyssinia obtained general credit. If Mr. CAVE

was to make the VICEROY solvent, he could not allow the VICEROY to tread further on the broad road to insolvency. Under the influence of this conception of Mr. CAVE's objects and powers Egyptian bonds went up to a comparatively high price, and it was justly observed by those who gave this colour to Mr. CAVE's mission that, even at the highest price which the bonds touched, they were very cheap. But doubts have arisen as to what Mr. CAVE was really sent to do. It would seem that the VICEROY cannot have been forbidden to spend the money he borrows with so much difficulty on a new little war, in point of fact the war is still going on. Mr. CAVE may perhaps not have been appointed to help the VICEROY or authorized to guide him. The bondholders are not able to guess with any accuracy what their new position is to be, nor are they sure that they will have any new position at all. The fluctuations of the market have reflected these growing uncertainties, and Egyptian bonds have had a fall, not so remarkable as their rise, but still of a very considerable amount.

It is evident that, although until Ministers have spoken it would be premature to conclude that the fact is so, yet it is very possible that Mr. CAVE never went out to help the VICEROY at all, or to see what Egypt is worth, or to improve the position of the bondholders. He may have simply gone to see what our special bargain with the VICEROY was worth, to estimate what the chances are of the VICEROY being able to pay us 200,000*l.* a year, and how far the present condition of the Canal warrants the supposition that it can long earn dividends without much further outlay. Of course Mr. CAVE did not go to see whether the bargain should be made, for it was made before he started; nor is it to be supposed that he went to show that the bargain was financially a good one. The Cabinet does not rest for its justification of the purchase on there being a reasonable prospect of our getting a steady five per cent. on four millions of money. Even if the VICEROY does not pay his 200,000*l.*, and even if the English nation, like other shareholders, may be exposed to seeing its dividends cut down hereafter by the necessity of a further outlay of capital, the Government is no doubt prepared to say that to make the purchase was, under the peculiar circumstances attending it, better than not to make it. But Parliament, although it may not much hope for a good bargain, and may not much dread a bad one, may reasonably wish to know what sort of a bargain it actually is that has been made. If the VICEROY does not pay his 200,000*l.* Parliament will equally have to make good the interest on the amount borrowed for the purchase. It may be quite willing to provide the whole of this interest without having any receipts from the VICEROY to set against what it provides; but as there is a chance, or we may say a probability, that the VICEROY will pay what he says he is going to pay us, Parliament will want to know what it is supposed that it is likely to be called on to provide. The object of Mr. CAVE's mission may have been simply to furnish the necessary information for this purpose. From this point of view Mr. CAVE, except as a friendly adviser, would have nothing to do with the VICEROY or his wars or the bondholders. If the bondholders are only paid in part, we shall only be paid in part, or we may suffer more than they do, so far as they have special securities, which, in contrast to the conduct of his suzerain, the VICEROY may choose to recognize. If they are not paid at all, we shall not be paid at all. Thus we should have no further concern with the VICEROY, except to calculate how much he is likely to pay according as he is pleased to take any one of many courses, all of which he is free, so far as we are concerned, to take. Mr. CAVE would have been sent, not to guide him, but to look at him; not to diminish the sum which Parliament may have to provide, but simply to calculate what the amount is likely to be. Neither will our bargain have been made better or worse by Mr. CAVE's mission, nor will the position of the VICEROY or the bondholders have been affected by it. He will simply, as a member of the Government, have enabled the Government to describe what it has done. If his report is favourable, the Government and the nation will naturally be pleased. It is always desirable that a pecuniary bargain should show a chance of a fair return for money invested. If his report is unfavourable, neither the Government nor, as the Government supposes, the nation will much mind. Other considerations than those of direct pecuniary profit have determined the purchase of the shares.

A valuable contribution towards an estimate of the advantages which this purchase may be supposed to carry with it has been made by Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL in an article in the *Fortnightly Review*. Having no official responsibility, the writer can calmly contemplate all the possibilities on which a Ministerial speaker could not dwell; and, having a great experience of Indian affairs, he can talk with authority of Egypt from an Indian point of view. He discusses whether our mastery of the Canal, if it is assumed that the purchase of the shares gives us, or conduces to give us, in some inexplicable way, such a mastery, would be of any use to us in time of war; and secondly, whether, if we assumed a protectorate over Egypt, and, in the event of a disruption of the Turkish Empire, took such possession of Egypt as it would be possible for us to take, it would answer our purpose to do so. When we speak of a time of war we must suppose that the war contemplated is a war with France, or Russia, or both. In a war with any other Power we should be practically at peace so far as the free use of the Canal and the safety of our Indian possessions were concerned. If we were at war with France or Russia, the long narrow route of the Mediterranean, with a block at the entrance of a narrow canal, would be so dangerous that our mercantile marine would not think of using it. The main use of the Canal would be that we should be able to send our troops to India through it. But the argument of Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL that it would not be worth our while to do so deserves attentive consideration. The enemy, by landing a force in Egypt, could force us to use the troops we were sending to India to turn him out, and if we were beforehand with him, and ourselves occupied Egypt, this would be a severe additional drain on our scanty army. By going through the Canal we should save a month or six weeks in time, but even with this addition of time we could, it is argued, send troops to India by sea faster than Russia could send them by land; and it must not be assumed that India would want any reinforcements except gradually to make good losses. So far as human foresight can go, it may be said that India as it is, without any reinforcements, is quite strong enough to repel any army that could be sent against it. Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL's discussion of the value of Egypt to us, if in some shape or other we assumed possession of it, is still more interesting. He freely concedes that the Egyptians would probably not object to it; he does not believe much in Mahometan fanaticism; he thinks the natural resources of Egypt itself great; he considers Egypt the best avenue to the interior of Africa, and he sees the vast good which English civilization, religion, capital, and enterprise might do in that neglected but fertile part of the world. He draws, indeed, so flattering a picture of the results of an English occupation of Egypt that the reader expects to find him advocating that the experiment should be made if the opportunity offered itself. But the conclusion of his reasoning is the other way. We are not, he thinks, equal to so great and new a call on us. India takes all our strength to govern, and to add Africa would be to overtask ourselves and weaken our hold on India. Unless the reasonings of Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL can be shaken, he will have done much to clear the way for Parliamentary debate. The controversy will in that case be narrowed, and the issue will simply depend on the political results of our acquisition of the position of shareholders.

CURRENT POLITICS.

THE return of Mr. LEIGHTON for North Shropshire as the nominee of the tenant-farmers shows that, even when no political question of any moment is involved, a spirited contest may be fought on a side issue, and men accustomed to obey may suddenly turn round on their leaders, fight them, and beat them. At first sight it seems difficult to understand how the farmers came to see any great difference involved between the return of Mr. LEIGHTON and that of his opponent. What is there which a Conservative nominee of the farmers would give them that a Conservative nominee of the landlords would not give them? What are the points on which landlords and farmers disagree? There do not appear to be any grievances under which the farmers allege themselves to

be suffering which it is in the power of the landlords to remove and which they decline to remove. There is no dispute as to anything done, or to be done, by the Government as to which the two parties in the counties suffer. Neither landlords nor tenants trouble themselves about the loss of the *Vanguard*, or the Slave Circulars, or the Canal purchase. There are, in fact, only two points as to which the remotest shade of disagreement between the landlords and the tenants can be traced. The farmers seem to think that the landlords are not duly anxious to relieve farmers from the burden of local taxation, and the farmers have not the same objection to the Burials Bill that the landlords are supposed to have. The divergence of opinion on the latter head is probably due, not to any difference of theological or ecclesiastical convictions, but to the difference of social position. Farmers, whether Churchmen or Dissenters, are of the same class, and feel as their class feels on social and domestic points. There are no Dissenting landlords, and therefore the landlords look on the matter from the outside. But although the feelings of the farmers are thus more enlisted on the side of the Dissenters than the feelings of the landlords, it is evident that the farmers care too little about the Burials Bill to have fought a contest which must have involved them in much trouble, expense, and annoyance, simply that one kind of service may be read instead of another kind of service in a churchyard. As to local taxation, the farmers feel the immediate pressure of it more than the landlords do; but they might be sure that the landlords would get rid of as much of the burden as they could for their own sakes. The farmers do not complain that too much is laid out for local purposes, but they wish some one else to find the money for it. Why should the landlords object to this? Whatever the farmers saved would either stay in their pockets and make them better able to lay out money on the land, or it would come into the landlords' pockets in the shape of an increased rent. To neither process could the landlords have any possible objection. So far as the landlords are more backward than the farmers in proposing to shift the burden of local taxation, this backwardness arises from their having a keener sense of political possibilities, and from their knowing enough of the country generally to see that, although the farmers would like to shift their burden, those to whom it was shifted would very much dislike the arrangement. The towns would very soon cry out if this shifting was carried on to their obvious detriment, and the Government which both landlords and tenants profess to support cannot afford to quarrel with the towns, and would not itself countenance any proposal it thought unjust. The farmers would find it very difficult to say for what proposal as to local taxation they expect Mr. LEIGHTON to vote for which his opponent would not have voted. As they are discussed these differences of opinion seem to fade more and more away, and we are forced to seek for some less tangible ground of division, which was not easily put into words, but which must have operated with great force, as it led to a contest so seriously fought.

We may turn aside for a moment to study the beautiful language of the ATTORNEY-GENERAL for Ireland. He was entertaining a body of Irish sympathizers with a flow of that oratory which is so natural and so agreeable to Irishmen, and very properly he directed the flow of his oratory in the channel of praise of the Government to which he belonged. Fertile in imagery, he compared the Constitution at once to a fine old tree which wise men like Conservatives cherish, clearing off parasites but never cutting the living roots, and also to a fine old building which the same wise men point afresh as time goes on, but which they never coat with an ugly facing of Roman cement. No wonder that all who heard this eloquence and followed these similitudes—not new perhaps, but for that reason all the easier to understand—were much delighted, and felt as if they were having their best feelings expressed in the most appropriate terms. But it must be owned that language of this kind, apart from the immediate pleasure it gives to an audience, does not do much good. It seems totally unconnected with real life. Men have their own objects to gain, and cannot easily shape them into harmony with theories about trees and buildings, parasites and cement. What could the most attentive study of the ATTORNEY-GENERAL's language have done for an elector in North Shropshire? He might as well have been advised

to decide for or against Mr. LEIGHTON by being told that "the moon was on the waters." On minds which for any reason are outside particular political struggles arguments from sentiment may tell; but those who feel keenly about something in which they are much interested have no thought to give to them. The farmers of North Shropshire must have been much interested in something, or they would never have carried Mr. LEIGHTON. They must have had some belief by which they were inspired; and it is difficult to see what this belief can have been, except the general belief that the possession of political power confers advantages on its possessors. They may not want to be represented by a different sort of man from the person whom the landlords would choose. In selecting Mr. LEIGHTON they have not gone out of the family circle of proprietors. They merely want that the member returned shall be their member. This is not a new feeling, but it is an old feeling in a new form. In more than one county there have on repeated occasions been members returned because the farmers asked that they should be returned, and the landlords have generally with great good sense agreed to some arrangement satisfactory to the farmers being made. But this old feeling enters on a new phase when it works under the Ballot, and when it takes the form of asserting that the farmers have a right to decide who it is out of the circle of proprietors or their families that shall be returned. The change involves a readjustment, or perhaps subversion, of the old system of county representation. If the farmers begin to choose their man, how is it to be known that their choice will always take the humble and modest form of preferring Mr. LEIGHTON to Mr. MAINWARING, and putting forward such a very small stalking-pony as the Burials Bill?

If figures of speech about fine old trees and fine old buildings do not much affect the minds of Shropshire farmers, it is needless to say that they affect still less the mind of Mr. JACOB BRIGHT. His general view of things is that he simply loathes the Tory party. He wants to fight them, crush them, triumph over them. All the bad things he knows of they have upheld, and all the good things he knows of they have opposed. There would be no lowing of oxen and bleating of sheep to offend Liberal ears if this SAUL was let loose on AGAG and his followers. As Mr. BRIGHT himself said, it was needless for him to explain in detail his political opinions, for he sat for some years in Parliament, and all he thinks and all he has got to say are perfectly well known. One of his supporters said of him that he was a man with a very sensitive mind; and men whose minds are extremely sensitive not only feel, but speak, with warmth. Not that he affects to imitate or rival the eloquence of his eminent brother. On replying to the notification of the Committee appointed to select a Liberal candidate that he had been selected, Mr. BRIGHT exhorted his hearers to wrest the crown of representation, "or whatever you call it," from their opponents; and this, viewed merely as a piece of oratory, was not perhaps creditable to the family. But, whether he is an orator or not, the Committee unanimously decided on selecting him. He has many crotchetts in which many members of the Committee avowed they took no interest, or as to which they entirely disagreed with him; but they took him for all in all, and owned they could not find a better man. In the same way Mr. RYLANDS has been chosen as the Liberal candidate for Burnley, and Mr. RYLANDS is a very decided Liberal. Unmoved by the argument that, as the action of Government becomes more complicated and extensive, and as the prices of everything rise, the cost of governing the country must inevitably become greater, Mr. RYLANDS sees no duty in a Government except that of cutting down the Estimates. The present Government spends more than its predecessor, and therefore there needs nothing more to condemn it. There are many faults to be found with what Mr. BRIGHT says and with what Mr. RYLANDS says; but it is precisely because they are not guarded and wise and moderate that the Liberals of Manchester and Burnley will work hard for them. If they are elected, they will be the followers of Lord HARTINGTON, and Lord HARTINGTON knows perfectly well that he must have such followers if his following is to have any strength. There are seats which can only be won by men of what are called sensitive minds. This is quite as true of one party as of the other. The language of enthusiastic Conservatives at the last general election was quite as far removed from the line pursued by the present

Ministry as the language and sentiments of Mr. BRIGHT and Mr. RYLANDS are from the language and sentiments of Lord HARTINGTON.

THE RUSSIAN INDICTMENT AGAINST ENGLAND.

IT is difficult to understand the motives which induce Russian Ministers and statesmen to instigate constant vituperation of England; but the coarse and offensive manner in which their instructions are obeyed is readily intelligible. The old and harsh saying that Russian civilization was rotten before it was ripe is at least true of Russian political literature. Writers who may probably be so far sincere in their national antipathies that they are both ignorant and prejudiced are allowed to indulge for certain purposes in the most reckless license, while neither they nor their predecessors or colleagues have ever had the smallest experience of liberty. The domestic and foreign policy in which their countrymen are interested is absolutely exempt from independent criticism. Probably no Russian journalist has yet expressed a suspicion that universal liability to military service may involve hardship to the community. The economical miscarriages which travellers and foreign residents have sometimes described as resulting from the emancipation of the serfs cannot be reported, even if the statements were true, in Russian newspapers. It only remains to direct the invective which is the easiest and rudest element in political controversy against foreign States, and especially against England. There is perhaps a still stronger popular feeling against Germany, but abuse of the EMPEROR's favourite ally is only occasionally permitted. The late annual summary of events in the official *Invalid* indicates extreme animosity against a country and Government which are not at present conscious of any cause of quarrel on the part of Russia. To Western readers it might seem that the attack on English policy is not rendered more effective by inaccuracy which in some cases amounts to deliberate mendacity; but the object of the *Invalid*, or of that section of the Russian Government by which it is inspired, is not to influence European opinion, but to promote national antipathy among Russians, and perhaps to mislead ill-informed Asiatics. It may be hoped that the Chinese are sufficiently astute to distrust the officious sympathy on their behalf which is displayed by a formidable neighbour. The official personages who contrived the murder of Mr. MARGARY will assuredly not believe that it resulted from an English intrigue against China.

It is not true that England is or has been anxious to weaken China; and Russian diplomatists well know the difficulty of inducing the Government of Pekin to observe either the obligations of treaties or the rules of international justice. The complaint that the English Minister demanded the support of an additional naval force, and that he insisted both on the observance of the treaty and on the punishment of the Yunnan murderers, might have formed part of a eulogy on English firmness and vigour. The Russian Government is constantly and rightly in the habit of exacting redress from barbarous or partially civilized States which may have done wrong to Russian subjects. Russia is a party to the treaties to which Mr. WADE appealed, having, in common with other Powers, obtained the benefit of concessions which were extorted from the Chinese Government by English arms. "So great," it seems, "is the presumption of the English," that they remonstrated against the courtesies lavished by the King of BURMAH on a Chinese Envoy who was believed to have instigated the murder of Mr. MARGARY. When General KAUFMANN from time to time reprobates a ruler of Bokhara or of Khokand, English writers, though they may sometimes attribute to him insidious designs, are not in the habit of charging him with extraordinary presumption. All these dark and subtle proceedings were of course designed for the purpose of opening new markets for opium. The writer in the *Invalid* has perhaps never heard that other commodities besides intoxicating drugs are among the products of England. Woollens, cotton goods, and cutlery might be thought legitimate articles of commerce; although it is a principal object of Russian policy to exclude English manufactures both from the Empire itself and from the vast territories which have been laid open to Russian conquest. No Englishman has the smallest desire or expectation that any part of the

Chinese dominions will be at any time annexed. It is not an immoral object to endeavour to increase the exchange of Manchester goods for tea and silk. The official journalist records with complacency the employment of two or three American officers to devise plans for the defence of the Chinese coasts; but he is for once sufficiently candid to admit that the Chinese army is extremely inefficient.

It might have been thought that the petty and troublesome warfare in the Malay peninsula would have been omitted from the list of English aggressions. Russian statesmen and soldiers fully understand how unprofitable and unavoidable conflicts constantly occur on the frontiers of a civilized Empire which happens to be conterminous with petty native States. Any extension of English territory which may result from the Malay war will be unwelcome, and it can have no bearing, direct or indirect, on the interests of Russia. English opponents of the Suez Canal purchase will be disappointed by learning, on official Russian authority, that the negotiation has been crowned by perfect success. Almost every other statement on the subject of the Canal is utterly false. It is not true that in 1874 the toll was reduced by one-half at the instance of England. On the contrary, it was increased with the consent of the English Commissioners by a considerable percentage. M. DE LESSEPS had in the previous year nearly doubled the charges which had been previously levied; and every maritime State in Europe, with the exception of France and Russia, protested against the augmentation as illegal. The French Government professedly represented the interests of the shareholders; and Russia probably wished to discourage the competition of English trade in the further regions of Asia. It has lately been announced that the Imperial Government proposes to subsidize Russian navigation by entire or partial payment of the toll on the Canal. No foreigner has any ground for remonstrating against a whimsical contrivance for the correction of natural inequality; but the project shows that Russia regards the preponderance of English navigation with envy, if not with ill will. The allegation that the KHEDIVE, as a shareholder, suffered sensibly by the supposed reduction of tolls is made in forgetfulness of his sacrifice of the dividends on his shares for a period which had then twenty years to run. It is not altogether unsatisfactory to find that Russian enemies of England believe, or affect to believe, in the prudence and expediency of the transaction. Another Russian journal some time since asserted that the English Government had purchased a portion of Egyptian territory. The attempt to establish a precedent for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire was at least premature.

Even in Arabia the malignant and ubiquitous activity of England has produced results which have not been adequately appreciated. The Imam of MUSCAT has, according to the Russian writer, been succeeded by an English partisan, and the Turks have gained one or two victories. It was not convenient to state that the Turkish aggressions in the neighbourhood of Aden have been actively checked and discountenanced by the English authorities, and that the sovereignty of the SULTAN over the Arab tribes has not been acknowledged. The Indian subjects of the QUEEN will learn with surprise that Lord NORTHBROOK has been dismissed, and that they have themselves been disappointed because the PRINCE of WALES has not assumed the political functions which belong to the Viceroy. The rudiments of constitutional government are perhaps better understood in India than at St. Petersburg. Possibly the most significant part of the indictment against England is an intimation of the designs of Russia. It may be remembered that three years ago a negotiation which had been commenced by Lord CLARENDON was brought to a close by Lord GRANVILLE. Prince GORCHAKOFF in the most explicit language undertook, on the part of the Russian Government, that it should abstain from any interference in the affairs of Afghanistan. After some further discussion he assented to the English determination of the Northern Afghan frontier, and no dispute has since arisen as to the meaning or purpose of the arrangement. The official writer in the *Invalid* is now instructed to assert that in 1873 the recognition of the Afghan AMERB as ruler of the countries to the north of the Hindoo Koosh was given "orally and very conditionally." In other words, a section of Russian politicians proposes, without even a frivolous pretext, to repudiate a solemn engagement. It is wholly immaterial whether the undertaking was oral.

A promise given by a Foreign Minister to an Ambassador for the purpose of communication to his Government is as binding as if it were extended into a dozen despatches. The statement that the engagement was "very conditional" has no foundation, except that it formed a part of a general arrangement which has not been disturbed by any act of the English Government. Unless the official journalist is actuated by a disinterested passion for national perfidy, his discreditable suggestion tends to shake any confidence which may be reposed in the good faith of the Russian Government.

THE SENATORIAL ELECTIONS.

THE Senatorial elections have justified the principles of the Government at the expense of its practice. The Senate will contain a working majority pledged to support the Republican Constitution against the motley army which M. BUFFET has been seeking to array against it. It is, in a sense, a victory for every member of the Cabinet except the PRIME MINISTER. Whatever support M. BUFFET may have received from his colleagues of the Right Centre in his undisguised display of preference for Legitimists or Bonapartists over Republicans, it is a support which has not made itself publicly felt. He has stood out from the rest of the Cabinet with a strongly marked individuality, which, as it has undoubtedly thrown the other Ministers into the shade, may make it easier for them to dissociate themselves from him if he declines to modify his policy to the extent which will be necessary if he is to remain in office. The disappointment inflicted by the elections upon M. BUFFET himself must be the keener in that it is self-provoked. He cannot even console himself by saying that he and the electors want different things. On the contrary, the result has shown that M. BUFFET and the electors really want very much the same things; only the electors have no confidence that they can be got in the way in which M. BUFFET has hitherto proposed to get them. If he had not separated himself from the rest of the Ministers and induced Marshal MACMAHON to make a special appeal to the country for his sole behoof, he might have claimed the return of a Moderate Republican majority as a ratification of the Constitution of February, and, by consequence, of the Ministry which first took office under that Constitution. Instead of this he has in effect asked the country to dismiss all thoughts either of the Constitution or of the Ministry, and to vote for a Conservative list representing every shade of political opinion except the Republican. The profession of faith in which these various parties contrived to unite was simple and provisional:—I acknowledge M. BUFFET as my leader until my schemes for packing off him and his Constitution have been accomplished. When that happy time arrives he must of course give place to a Minister more agreeable to the King or the Emperor. M. BUFFET was better pleased with this temporary allegiance than with any expressions of mere lasting devotion. Apparently he preferred to think of himself in retirement, with the Count of CHAMBORD or Prince LOUIS NAPOLEON on the throne, and the Radicals either silenced or at Cayenne, than to think of himself as in office, with France still governed by a President, and the Radicals playing the part of a Parliamentary Opposition. The Senatorial elections have put an end to M. BUFFET's visions. They have proved that the country is on the whole content with things as they are, and only dissatisfied with M. BUFFET because he is not willing to accept them as they are. France is not enthusiastic about the Republic, but she has a distinct conviction that she dislikes the idea of further change, and that the *status quo* will be best maintained by men who share this dislike. The experience of the last eleven months has made it clear that, if M. BUFFET dislikes the idea of change at all, it holds a very subordinate place among his distastes. There are things associated with the permanence of the Republican Constitution which he detests very much more. To see the MARSHAL reduced to the humiliating necessity of accepting M. GAMBETTA as a Minister would probably give him a greater shock than to see either the BOURBON or the Bonapartist throne set up again. The issue as submitted to the electors by M. BUFFET was a simple one:—Will you ask before voting for a Conservative candidate whether he is a Conservative Republican, or will you accept the word Republican as one that virtually

contradicts the word Conservative? M. BUFFET left no doubt as to the answer he gave to these inquiries, and the electors have made it equally unmistakable what answer they give to them.

In a sense, therefore, it is quite true that the elections have gone in favour of the Conservatives. They have gone, that is, in favour of the Moderate Republicans, of the men who, without attributing any special sanctity to the Republic, accept it in good faith as the form of government that best secures to France the liberty and order which she has sought to no purpose in the opposite extremes of anarchy and despotism. There are already symptoms that the politicians who have hitherto supported M. BUFFET in his endeavours to disguise from Frenchmen the true nature of their own preferences are not above learning wisdom at his expense. There is an evident disposition to make the best of the elections, and to accept as genuine Conservatives men to whom down to the moment of election this title would certainly have been denied. Indeed, M. BUFFET himself may not be above learning by experience, provided that he can postpone the date at which he will be expected to have mastered his lesson. Supposing that the elections to the Chamber of Deputies go the same way as those to the Senate, it is at least possible that the MINISTER of the INTERIOR may try if others can forget as readily as he that he ever worked to make them go otherwise. His efforts in this direction will probably be seconded by Marshal MACMAHON; and, in the absence of any one clearly marked out to take M. BUFFET's place, it is possible that there would be a general acquiescence in the continuance of the Ministry in office. That this arrangement could last long is not likely, inasmuch as the reactionary and the Liberal elements in the Cabinet can hardly agree in the production of a common policy. But for a time the Ministry might rub on without a policy, and in some ways it is to the interest of the Republicans that they should do so. The fewer sudden changes are introduced the more disposed the country will be to associate the Republic with that tranquillity which the Bonapartists have always striven to represent as their own peculiar property. France has not long learned to distinguish between a change of government and a change of institutions, and a too rapid succession even of Ministers might delay the complete recognition of the difference. Undoubtedly, with an honestly Republican majority in both Chambers, M. BUFFET would have to choose between resignation and a very considerable modification of the language which he has been accustomed to use in the tribune. But in presence of that unmistakable manifestation of the wish of the nation to live under a Republican Government which will probably be afforded by the elections taken together, he may develop different qualities from any that have yet been apparent in him.

The event has shown that we were right in suggesting that the Bonapartist tendencies of the Mayors appointed or retained by the Duke of BROGLIE might perhaps have been exaggerated. The pronounced Imperialist faction has sustained a decided defeat. The prospects of the Empire may not be as disastrous as might be inferred from the ill success of its most noisy partisans, because the Empire has always a second string to its bow, and is ready to come back as the residuary legatee of a Government that has failed, if there is no popular current strong enough to bring it in on its own merits. But the expectation entertained by many that the constitutional uncertainty in which France was so long kept would prove to have made the Republic odious has not been realized. The Bonapartists will be stronger in the new Legislature than in the old one, because the circumstances under which the elections of 1871 were held made their strength in the Assembly no real measure of their strength in the country. But there is nothing to indicate that they will be more than a fraction, able occasionally to make its presence felt by some dexterous combination with other fractions, but not possessed of any independent or permanent influence. A still more unexpected result of the elections to the Senate has been the defeat of the Irreconcileable Radicals. An attempt has been made to detract from the significance of this fact by insisting on the Radicalism of the Senators actually returned for Paris. But that Paris would elect Radical Senators was never doubtful. What was doubtful was whether she would not elect Radicals who think the Constitution of February little better than Monarchy in disguise. All through the autumn the issue as between M. GAMBETTA and M. LOUIS BLANC had been kept before the eyes of the Paris electors. M. LOUIS BLANC's own speeches and those

of M. MADIER MONTJAU had been diligently reproduced for their benefit by the extreme journals on either side. The *Rappel* and the *Union* had agreed in assuring that here was the only true Republicanism, and in imploring them not to be taken in by the counterfeit article produced by M. GAMBETTA. It seemed probable that Paris would be true to the tradition of always voting for the most extreme candidate in the field, and the best hope that appeared to be left for M. GAMBETTA was that the intellectual eminence of two of the Irreconcileable candidates would deprive the result of a part at all events of its meaning. When the day of voting came, it turned out that Paris had ceased to be irreconcileable, and was ready to reject M. VICTOR HUGO at the first ballot, and M. LOUIS BLANC altogether, in order to elect the candidates who represented the constitutional Radicalism which is prepared to follow M. GAMBETTA. The breach in the Left of which so much has been said, and on which so many hopes have been built, has come to nothing. The elections have proved that, Radical as Paris may be, she is not Radical enough to sacrifice the Republic to the indulgence of impracticable passions. The Extreme Left may be divided in the new Legislature, as it was in the old one; but it will be a division representing the eccentricities of individual politicians, not the settled purpose of great constituencies.

BARON DEAK.

FEW statesmen have done so much for any country as the great patriot to whose memory the whole of Hungary is now doing honour. But for the firmness, the moderation, and the wisdom of Baron DEAK, it is doubtful whether the long-standing feud between Austria and Hungary could have been closed in the present generation. Many of his earlier political allies from time to time rejected his guidance, with results fatal to their own political reputation, and injurious to their country; but the nation in general proved its aptitude for freedom by habitually following the most honest and sagacious of its leaders. One of DEAK's conspicuous merits ought to be more particularly appreciated by Englishmen. He never relied on sentimental or abstract reasoning when he could appeal to legal and hereditary right. A true Conservative, he steadily refused to barter any fragment of ancient privilege for the most specious concessions which could be deduced from modern theories of Liberalism. At one time the Emperor of AUSTRIA and his Ministers were perfectly sincere in their desire to concede representative government and an improved system of administration to Hungary; but DEAK steadily demanded a full recognition of the Constitution which had been violently abolished before he would consider even the most necessary reforms. Not less admirable was the good faith with which he accepted as sufficient the final satisfaction of the claims of his country. He was not one of the adventurers who hold that the concession of a just demand is a reason for devising new employment for a triumphant party. The solemn celebration of his obsequies was fitly attended not only by the Legislature, and by all ranks of his countrymen, but by representatives of the Sovereign whom he had restored to the enjoyment of his legitimate prerogative by defeating unwise attempts at usurpation. The EMPEROR is probably sincere in his regret for the loss of a loyal subject who had during the greater part of his career been the steadiest adversary of the Imperial Court. Although the Austro-Hungarian monarchy is still exposed to many difficulties and uncertainties, the solution of a grave complication, which was proposed and mainly effected by DEAK, has made the EMPEROR and KING a greater potentate than in the earlier portion of his reign before the exclusion of Austria from Germany and the loss of Italian provinces. Only ten years ago the discontent of Hungary constituted the gravest danger which threatened the Empire. At present Hungary is as well affected as the Archduchy of Austria.

When DEAK was young, the Hungarians alone among Continental nations possessed a free, though aristocratic, Constitution. The reigning dynasty had incessantly encroached on their ancient privileges; but from time to time they found opportunities of making the redress of grievances a condition of military aid, as in the celebrated instance when, after a tedious and successful negotiation, the nobility proclaimed their readiness to die *pro rege nostro Maria Theresia*. JOSEPH II., after the fashion of the reform,

ing despots of his time, attempted to include abuses and ancient franchises in a common suppression ; and in a later generation METTERNICH sought to punish the obstinacy of the Magyar aristocracy by closing their frontiers to commerce. The most effectual guarantee for a theoretical acknowledgment of constitutional right was the condition imposed on every King at his accession of being solemnly crowned at Pesth, after taking the coronation oath. In Hungarian estimation even the legitimate successor was either a usurper or a merely provisional ruler until he had complied with the ceremonial condition, which was itself dependent on the oath. The unfortunate FERDINAND who lately died in seclusion at Prague was crowned according to custom ; but at the time, and long before, the attempts of Austrian Ministers to extend the Imperial absolutism to Hungary had caused grave discontent. Twenty years intervened between the accession of FRANCIS JOSEPH as *de facto* King and his compliance with the conditions which made his authority legal. It was in the struggle against the encroachments of the Crown that DEAK first attained distinction and popular confidence. When the wave of revolution swept over Europe in 1848 he became a member of the Liberal BATTHYANI Ministry, which in vain endeavoured to avoid the imminent civil war. In the conflict itself DEAK took no active part, and he probably sympathized as little with the Republican violence of KOSSUTH as with the Austrian Government and the Slavonic malcontents whom it enlisted against the dominant Magyars. The exclusive privileges of the aristocracy had been surrendered or modified before the collision with the Government of Vienna. The wise relaxations of the old oligarchical system which had been previously effected by DEAK and his associates undoubtedly stimulated the patriotic enthusiasm which made the Hungarians triumphant in the field. Many of their leaders were with good reason dissatisfied with the revolutionary measures of the Dictator ; and the hopes of the Hungarians were at last frustrated by the Russian intervention which ended in the surrender of GÖRGY at Villajos. During the short struggle KOSSUTH's foolish proclamation of a Republic had rendered conciliation impossible ; and after its conclusion, the Minister who then governed Austria in the name of the young EMPEROR was on his side not less extravagant in his language and conduct than the eloquent demagogue. Prince SCHWARZENBERG propounded the preposterous theory that all the rights of Hungary were abrogated by conquest, and that the EMPEROR was therefore at liberty to dispose of the most important part of his dominions without any limitation of law, of custom, or of private or corporate right.

As long as the despotism lasted DEAK necessarily held aloof from public affairs. While KOSSUTH was making speeches in foreign countries, and forming an alliance with MAZZINI against kings in general, it was evident to a higher and more cultivated intelligence that the position of the Austrian Government was not permanently tenable. The defeat of Hungary had only been accomplished with the aid of Russia, and Prince SCHWARZENBERG was said to have threatened his protector soon afterwards with a future display of splendid ingratitude. The first revival of Hungarian hopes followed the redemption of the Minister's promise by the Austrian occupation of the Danubian Principalities during the Crimean war. From that time it became certain that the Emperor of AUSTRIA would need all the strength which he could derive from the support of all his subjects. As soon as circumstances rendered a renewal of political activity possible, DEAK constantly directed and confined the aspirations of his countrymen to a recovery of the rights which had been suspended from 1848. The French war of 1859 forcibly illustrated the weakness which, notwithstanding the command of imposing armaments, resulted from the internal condition of the Austrian monarchy. After Solferino the Emperor FRANCIS JOSEPH had still a larger army than that of his French and Italian adversaries ; he held the almost impregnable position which was known as the Quadrilateral ; and Germany was preparing a formidable diversion in favour of Austria on the Rhine. The just disaffection of Hungary explained the apparently pusillanimous surrender of Lombardy ; and immediately after the conclusion of peace a new policy of conciliation was tried under the SCHWARTZLING Ministry. A Constitution common to the whole monarchy was promulgated in 1860 by the authority of the EMPEROR ; and for five years the utmost exertions were used to induce the Hungarians to accept the boon. If DEAK would have forwarded the

not ungenerous policy of the EMPEROR and his advisers, he might have commanded any reward which he might have preferred ; but, at the head of the soundest and most powerful section of the community, he still required that the KING should be crowned with the ordinary conditions, and that Hungary should be represented by a separate and independent Ministry exclusively responsible to the National Diet. NAPOLEON III. had commenced for the benefit of Austria a course of political instruction which was completed by BISMARCK and MOLTKE in 1866. In the following year the Emperor FRANCIS JOSEPH, under the advice of Count BEUST, finally granted all the demands of the Hungarian leader, and DEAK asked no more. From the moment at which the ancient independence of the kingdom was recognized, he used every exertion to promote harmony between the Eastern and Western portions of the monarchy. In foreign affairs, and especially in the adjustment of delicate relations with Russia and with Turkey, the interests of Austria and of Hungary are essentially the same. For some years the Chancellor, who holds the highest office in the Imperial and Royal Government, has been a Hungarian. The prominent part which Austria has taken in the recent negotiations on the Eastern question has only been rendered possible by the unity which survives the political separation of the East and the West. For some time past DEAK had retired from an active share in public business ; but he was surrounded by universal respect and esteem. The champion of historic freedom is placed far above the philanthropic projector who devotes himself to the assertion of questionable rights of man.

THE SHIOPWNERS' MEETING.

IT must be admitted that the endeavour to obtain improved legislation in regard to merchant ships has hitherto been somewhat unfortunate in the conditions under which it has had to be carried on. It is obviously impossible that any good results can be expected in this direction unless the willing and hearty co-operation of the great body of respectable shipowners can be secured. Their assistance is indispensable to the efficient working of the law, whatever it may be ; and it does not require much consideration to see that any attempt on the part of a Government office to take upon itself the minute, inquisitorial regulation of such a trade by purely coercive means must ultimately break down. If the shipowners think they are being ill used, they will certainly find a way to express their discontent, and to embarrass and circumvent the officials set over them. The shipowners, in fact, are a class of men who may be led, but who cannot be driven ; and this has been too much lost sight of in the course of the blatant agitation of the last two years. Mr. PLIMSOLL bears a strong resemblance to some of those improvised generals of the first French Republic who had rhetoric enough to rouse the enthusiasm of their followers, but were apt to lead them into perilous positions when they went into action. It may perhaps be pleaded on his behalf that it was necessary to resort to strong measures in order to awaken an apathetic public ; but the danger of all exaggeration is in the reaction which is sure to follow. The plain hard facts of the case, stated in their simplest and most prosaic form, were quite sufficient to have commanded attention without any sensational adornment ; and if nothing had been asserted except what could be distinctly proved, the steady movement of public opinion thus produced would have been much more powerful than the jerky and spasmodic efforts which have hitherto been made. What is wanted in such a case is a little common sense and moderation. The shipowners are of course a mixed body, but the majority of them are respectable men, who are anxious to keep their ships in a sound condition, not merely from a sense of duty, but because they are aware that they are thereby, in the long run, promoting their own interests. At the present moment the best sort of shipowners do of their own accord almost all that it has been proposed to compel them to do, and there can be no doubt that they have even stronger reasons than the general public for being anxious to see a check put to the scandals and abuses which are due to the black sheep of the flock. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to imagine a more fatal error than that which has been committed in contounding the different kinds of shipowners in reckless and indiscriminate imputations, and thus alienating the very class which might become the most serviceable ally

of reform. No amount of Government regulation will be of any avail unless a healthy spirit exists in the trade, and nothing is more likely to impair this than a sense of injustice and injury on the part of men who are really doing their best. Any system of supervision which places good and bad on a level is doomed to failure from the beginning. Human nature in such a case cannot be left out of account.

We are glad, therefore, to see that this subject is now being taken up in earnest by the shipowners themselves, who are undoubtedly not less interested in it than any other class of the community, and who must be supposed to have a more close and intimate knowledge of it in its practical details. We do not mean, of course, to say that their views as to what should be done are to be implicitly accepted. They have naturally their own point of view, and they see some sides of the question distinctly enough, while there are other sides of which other people differently situated may have a more correct appreciation. Still it is evident that the Executive will be in a great measure powerless unless it can carry the shipowners with it; and that a measure which falls short of ideal reform, but which has the advantage of the support and cordial co-operation of the persons who have most influence in the matter, is more likely to be practically beneficial than one trying to do what is never likely to be done. The shipowners have held a meeting in London to consider their position in view of "existing and prospective legislation" regarding merchant shipping, and have passed a series of general resolutions, which are to be laid before the PREMIER by a deputation, and which deserve attentive consideration as a representation of the views of a class who have a good right to be heard on such a question. We cannot say, however, that we have been in all respects very favourably impressed by the tone of the speeches at this meeting. It is difficult to see why Lord ESSLINGTON, who is not a shipowner, should have been in the chair; and his speech betrayed prepossessions of the kind which disfigured and rendered worthless the Report of the Royal Commission of which he was a member. Mercantile prosperity is, no doubt, a fine thing in itself, but it is not exactly everything for which a great nation may be supposed to exist; and the way in which the Commissioners clung to the assumption that the extension of trade is the great end of life, and the object to which all considerations of humanity must necessarily be subordinated, proved their blindness to the moral aspects of the question. The sordid narrowness of their Report in this respect is a set-off against the extravagance of Mr. PLIMMELL'S theatrical displays. It was not desirable that the half-hearted policy recommended by the Commission and adopted by the Board of Trade should be accepted; but it is impossible to imagine a more dangerous line of statesmanship than the precipitate reversal of the settled policy of a Government in deference to supposed public clamour. It may be true that the officials have, on the whole, been cautious in using the powers entrusted to them over an important branch of private property; but such a measure as the Act of last Session could never be tolerated except as a temporary contrivance for extricating the Government from a false position. By its terms it placed the shipping trade at the mercy of the arbitrary authority of petty agents, almost without check or limit. It is known to have been a casual expedient for a critical moment, and this is its only excuse. As a principle of permanent administration it is impossible that it could be endured.

The discreditable manner in which this important subject was treated by the Government last Session makes it the more important that this year it should deal with it in a becoming spirit. Without going into any discussion of details, it may be worth while to indicate the general principles which ought to be followed. The responsibility for the seaworthiness of ships should be fastened distinctly on those who have to do with the equipment or loading of the vessels; and the most effectual method of bringing this responsibility home to those concerned is to secure the most complete information as to the state in which every vessel quits the harbour, and to supply those who have the keenest interest in the safety of ships—the crews—with facilities for submitting their grievances to impartial judicial arbitration. It is an idle dream to fancy that Board of Trade officials can manage the shipping trade of the country better than those who are directly interested in it; but there ought to be a stringent system of police

for rotten or overladen ships, as for any other infractions of the criminal law. Let shipowners manage their own business; but let means be taken to make them feel that a reckless disregard of life is likely to be attended with unpleasant consequences. The class which needs this reminder is not a very large one; it has no right to mercy, and the interests alike of respectable owners, of the seamen, and of the public will be promoted by a judicious severity.

THE ARTISANS' DWELLINGS ACT.

THE Metropolitan Board of Works are not altogether easy as to the effect of the Artisans' Dwellings Act. They are beginning to put it into operation, but they are by no means resigned to do their own particular part in the work and to leave the results to take care of themselves. Some of the difficulties raised in the discussion of last week are well worthy of careful consideration, but it does not seem to have occurred to the speakers that the time for going thoroughly into them has not yet come. The duties of the Board under the Act are broken up into several stages, and the stage in which matters are at present resting is the most elementary of all. This or that area has to be marked out as unhealthy, and the cost of clearing the land and bringing it into a state in which it can be let or sold for building purposes has to be estimated. When the way for further operations has thus been prepared, the Board will have to choose between the various offers made to them; or, if only one offer is made, to decide whether it is such as they can usefully accept. The debate of last week would more naturally have been held at a meeting of one of the various Companies which have been started to supply the poor with better houses. Nearly every one who took part in it began by saying that the Metropolitan Board of Works were not going to build on the cleared ground themselves, and then went on immediately to define the duties and responsibilities of those who would have to build on it. As a contribution to a controversy of great importance these expressions of opinion were interesting, and perhaps useful. The only objection to them is that they had remarkably little to do with the matter actually in hand.

Two faults were found with the policy of the Companies which are engaged in building houses for the London poor, and especially with the Company of which Sir SYDNEY WATERLOW is the Chairman. The criticisms offered would have had a more consistent aspect if the authors of them had decided beforehand on which of the faults in question they meant to rest their case. It is quite possible that these Companies may be pauperizing the poor by letting them rooms at less than an adequate rental. It is quite possible that they may be asking a fair rent for their rooms, but that this rent is altogether beyond the means of the class for whom the rooms are presumably intended. But it is hardly probable that the Companies should be making both mistakes at the same time. With the exception of the PEABODY Trustees, all the Associations now engaged in building are, we believe, earning a dividend, and none of them profess to be satisfied with less than that particular figure which many Englishmen seem to believe to be a part of the divine constitution of the world. There is little doubt, however, that if the Artisans' Dwellings Act is carried out on a proper scale, the Companies will one day find themselves confronted by this dilemma:—To let houses to the poor at less than their value is in the long run to pauperize them; to build houses which fall short of a certain minimum standard of decency is to perpetuate the evils which these Companies have been started to cure. Yet, if houses are built as they ought to be built, how are they to be let at prices which the poor can afford to pay? It is impossible to say precisely what answer will ultimately be given to this question. Probably the difficulty will be got over in different ways in different instances. At present, at all events, the directions in which a solution will be found can only be indicated. For example, too much stress is perhaps laid on the necessity of charging the poor the full value of the rooms they occupy, if they are not to be pauperized under the plea of benefiting them. Supposing that two sets of rooms, each with the same amount of accommodation, are let at the same rent, but that one, being kept in proper order as regards drainage and necessary repairs, pays nothing to its owner, whereas

the other, being entirely neglected in these respects, pays ten per cent. to its owner, is it so certain that the man who lives in the well-drained and properly repaired room is pauperized by the fact that his landlord prefers to spend the ten per cent. which he might draw from the property in making it healthy and decent? If so, is not a man pauperized by living in rooms which only return five per cent., if by doing nothing to them the landlord might make them yield ten per cent? Where is the line to be drawn? A country gentleman who builds cottages for his workmen, and, in order to make them healthy and decent, contents himself with getting two-and-a-half per cent. on his money, is commonly considered to be doing a public service. Why should not a Company which does the same thing in London be held in equal estimation? The pauperizing element in the transaction must lie, if anywhere, in the supposed temptation held out to the tenant of the rooms to depend upon others rather than upon himself for the supply of his ordinary wants. But in this case he can get his ordinary wants satisfied elsewhere, if he is content to have them satisfied in a less healthy and decent fashion; and experience, unfortunately, seems to show that as yet the appreciation of what may be called the invisible points of superiority of one house over another is seldom keen enough to make a man pay more for them. If these invisible matters were properly attended to by all builders—if, that is, every house were so drained and repaired as to make it in all essential respects fit for human habitation—the case would be different. The average standard of rent would then have to be raised to such a point as would give the ordinary builder an adequate return on the money invested; and, if a Company were to let houses at a lower rate than this, they would, in effect, be making their tenants a money payment. But so long as the advantages given by the Company cannot be expressed in money, and take the form not of lower rents nor of increased accommodation, but simply of healthier and more decent arrangements, the danger of pauperization seems almost infinitesimal; while, if it exists, it is more than outweighed by the greater probability of the tenants not becoming pauperized in other ways.

If, however, the condition of the poor is to be improved on at all a large scale, this universal raising of the quality of houses in the matter of drainage and the like must some day be effected by legislation. The efforts of single Companies will be a mere drop in the ocean unless they are seconded by an Act of Parliament which shall make it unlawful to let unhealthy houses for healthy, just as it is already unlawful to sell unwholesome food for wholesome. When that day comes, the second difficulty raised in the recent discussion will assuredly have to be faced. If the quality of the houses is improved, higher rents must be asked for them, except in cases where the absence of competition has hitherto kept rents above the average level. How are the poor who now pay with difficulty 2s. 6d. a week for an unwholesome room to pay 4s. a week for a wholesome room? A similar question has often been asked with respect to all the commodities of which the price has risen in modern times, and the answer in all cases is substantially the same. When the cost of living increases in the producing class, the increase has somehow to be got out of the consuming class. If there are no more people employed in supplying the wants of London than are needed for the purpose, and these people have to pay more for their houses, they must in the long run ask more for the services they render. If they are already bidding against one another for employment, or if the rise in the price they ask for their services lead to some of them being dispensed with, so that they come to bid against one another, they must find employment elsewhere. The argument that we must not make the houses of the poor healthy because to do so will raise the rent of the houses, would have stood in the way of half the improvements of modern civilization. No doubt changes of this kind will often be attended with much individual suffering; but which is better in the long run, to have London inhabited by a smaller population, living healthy lives in decent houses, paying a comparatively high rent, but earning a comparatively high wage, or to have London inhabited by a larger population, living in houses in which decency is impossible and disease inevitable, and though paying a low rent, earning at the same time a low wage? The forethought and benevolence of private persons may do much to temper the hardships which will have to be borne while the change is in progress, but the object which

statesmen and legislatures ought to keep in view is the eventual advance to a higher standard of living.

There is no need to follow the Metropolitan Board of Works into the consideration of the internal distribution of the houses which are to replace those which are not yet pulled down. There will be time enough to consider how many rooms should be arranged for separate letting, and how far the practice of living in one room should be discouraged by letting two rooms together. Two things, however, may be said even at this stage of the question. One is that nothing will be gained by prescribing single rooms if an equal, or even greater, degree of overcrowding is arrived at by taking in lodgers. Yet to prevent lodgers being taken in will be impossible except in isolated cases, where the vigilance of individual landlords is devoted to this particular point. It is very much easier to improve the arrangements of houses than to supervise the use which the tenants make of them. The other thing to be noted is that it will not always be possible or even desirable to fill the new houses with the same class of tenants as that by which the demolished houses were filled. The natural process will be that the new inhabitants will be recruited from the better portion of the tenants of houses in the surrounding district of the same character as those which have been destroyed, and that the lowest portion of the dispossessed tenants will take their places in the houses that are still left untouched. In course of time it may be hoped that improvement will extend even to these last, but for the present we must not complain if, in helping those who are willing to be raised, we have to leave on one side those who are past raising.

THE THIRLWALL MEMORIALS.

IT would not be amazing if, by a natural reaction, mankind should agree to put a stop to all visible memorials of the dead, and decree that, if departed worthies cannot dwell in the minds of those who ought to remember them, they must even be forgotten altogether. Everybody has a memorial now, as everybody has a biography. Some people have two or three memorials, as indeed some people have two or three biographies. And the worst feature of the memorial system is that half the memorials are not real memorials at all. Some one has some object of his own, often a very good and praiseworthy object, which he wants to carry out, and cannot; so he makes an effort to connect his own scheme with the name of some departed worthy, and asks for help to make a memorial. Not long ago circulars were going about through the land in which a clergyman, whose name we have forgotten, asked help for the restoration of a church, whose name we have also forgotten, on the ground that Bishop Stillingfleet was born in the parish, and that the work in the church was to be a Stillingfleet Memorial. It always strikes us that there is something amiss in these attempts to kill two birds with one stone, to do some work which is desirable on other grounds under cover of doing honour to some particular person. To set up a tomb or a statue or a picture is to make a direct memorial of the person commemorated; to found a prize or a scholarship in his name, to do anything, in short, which attempts something else besides commemoration, is not a memorial in the same direct sense. It is rather improving an occasion, taking advantage of the deceased person's memory to carry out some other object. The practice, too, leads to confusion. An Oxford man, we may suppose, wins the Stanhope prize and the Ireland scholarship early in his career. In a later stage he wins the Arnold prize and the Eldon scholarship. He is tempted to look on Lord Eldon and Lord Stanhope, on Dr. Ireland and Dr. Arnold, as alike personally his benefactors; and Lord Stanhope and Dr. Ireland are so in the strictest sense. They themselves made the foundations which bear their name; but the Arnold prize and the Eldon scholarship were not founded by Lord Eldon and Dr. Arnold, but by other persons in their honour. And when it comes, as it sometimes does come, to building a memorial church—as distinguished from a strictly monumental church—one is tempted to ask whether there is not in this something of a survival of the elder practice of putting a church under the "dedication" or "invocation" of an acknowledged saint. We may perhaps mark two stages of the change from the actual dedication to the mere memorial in the church of Charles the Martyr at Plymouth, and Bishop Ryder's church at Birmingham. At Plymouth there was a genuine attempt at a real dedication; only, as no one brought himself to talk about St. Charles, the building is spoken of as "Charles" and its pastor as "Vicar of Charles." At Birmingham we quite forget whether the church was built by Bishop Ryder or was built in honour of him; but in either case it is an example of a church bearing the name of a man who did not come in even for the *quasi canonization* which fell to King Charles at Plymouth, but whose memory was clearly meant to be held in reverence. On so mysterious a description as that of "Laura Chapel" at Bath it may be safer not to risk any suggestion. Still, in all these cases—churches, prizes, scholarships, anything else—there is the same general notion, the

attempt to combine the commemoration of the deceased person with the carrying out of some other object. There is surely too much of this kind of thing about; indeed, the Stillingfleet case may be set down as a *reductio ad absurdum* of it. But we are far from saying that it may not be justifiable in some cases; indeed we have in our eye a case where some such course seems to us redressing, praiseworthy, and almost necessary, as the only way of redressing a real wrong.

The church and diocese of St. David's have, as all the world knows, not long since lost a great prelate, and they have lost him in more senses than one. That Bishop Thirlwall passed away from his church and from the world was in the ordinary course of human events; in that sense he is lost only as all men must be lost sooner or later. But he is also lost to his church and diocese in another way, in a most needless and unworthy way. The last resting-place of such a man should undoubtedly have been in his own church, among the resting-places of so many of his predecessors in his ancient chair, a line of prelates which numbers many great names, and among which his is assuredly one of the greatest. There, in his own place, on his own ground, a fitting memorial might have risen over him; the tomb, the recumbent effigy, the canopy, the inscription eloquent in its simplicity, would all have been in their place had his dust been laid in the place where it ought to have been laid. But so it was not to be; the claims of his own church, his distant and lonely church by the rocks of the western ocean, the church where he had, to say the least, been more at home, been more truly a Bishop, than any of his predecessors for ages, were rudely cast aside. The claims of that venerable spot were not to be listened to when the "metropolitan cathedral," the "national Valhalla," or any other of the strange aliases which disfigure the church of St. Peter at Westminster, had once opened its mouth to ask for a new inhabitant. The body-snatching passion which reigns in that quarter could not brook denial on the score of what anywhere else would seem the obvious propriety that one of the greatest among the successors of St. David should find his last home in the church of St. David. Another attraction must be added to the exhibition; another thing must be set up for the Dean or the verger to show to the next "party"; another opportunity must be seized on for further disfigurement of the hapless minister; some further fragment of the work of Henry or Edward must be hewn away to receive some hideous "tablet," some fulsome inscription, some bust of the great scholar and Bishop, looking out from the midst of company as queer as that which surrounds the bust of Sir George Lewis. One might be curious to know whether, in the quarters where these things are decided, there is any very clear knowledge where St. David's is, and whether, by a not uncommon form of error, St. David's and Llandaff may not be looked on as one and the same place. At any rate, the claims of so lowly a church, one so cut off from the pale of metropolitan society, so far out of the ken of a "metropolitan Dean," went for nothing. The dust of Thirlwall was sentenced to lie undistinguished in the crowd at Westminster, instead of lying, marked out and honoured, in his own church; the memorial which was actually to mark his grave was to add new disfigurement to the church of St. Peter, instead of new beauties to the church of St. David. The wrong has been done; let those who rejoice in such doings have their triumph. But it can hardly be expected that the glee of the robber should be fully entered into by those who have been robbed.

It was clearly impossible that such a man as Bishop Thirlwall could be allowed to go without a memorial of some kind or other in the diocese and in the church which was his own. The stranger has carried off his body; but the stranger has not been able to wipe out the memory of him from the minds of his own flock. The people of the diocese of St. David's, with their Bishop at their head, have determined that some memorial of the great man who has passed away from among them shall be set up on their own soil. But what kind of memorial are they to set up, now that all possibility of setting up the right kind of memorial has been so cruelly taken from them? There is a scheme, a scheme against which we do not wish to say a word, for commemorating Bishop Thirlwall by the foundation of a scholarship or professorship at Cambridge. But this is a scheme which cannot be supposed to have much interest for the people of the diocese of St. David's. It is a scheme which addresses itself to Cambridge men, and to others who think of Thirlwall mainly in his character as scholar; it does not satisfy the wishes of those who wish to commemorate their own Bishop in his own diocese. But how are they to do it? The right thing cannot be done; a translation to Westminster *per vim, mid usque*, as our forefathers would have said, has hindered that. All that is left is to do the thing that is least wrong. And in such a case there is a strong temptation to be withheld, which might lead some to do the thing which is most wrong of all. The very worst thing of all would certainly be to set up a sham monument in St. David's Cathedral, a monument of a man who is not there. Yet the public taste on these matters lags so far behind the improvement of the public taste on many kindred matters, men's notions have got so utterly corrupted by the abominations of Westminster and St. Paul's, that it was absolutely certain that a cenotaph, a statue, or some absurdity of the kind, would be proposed. And so it was proposed. Some talked of a standing or sitting figure, some of a sham tomb with a recumbent effigy. A standing or sitting figure might be very well somewhere else, but certainly not under the roof of St. David's Cathedral. To a sham tomb there is the

one killing objection that it is a sham. Some one said in an Oxford prize poem,

No empty cenotaphs their bones enshrine.

But empty cenotaphs, if they are to exist at all, may at least be kept for those whose emptiness they might not badly symbolize. Some other memorial is wanted for the solid learning and wisdom of a Thirlwall. In a meeting lately held at Caernarthen the common sense of the matter was clearly put forth by the Bishop, and it is much to the credit of his bearers that his common sense should have gone down with them as it did. He told them that the sitting or standing figure would be utterly inappropriate in the church of St. David's, and that the recumbent effigy, however appropriate as a matter of art, would sin against laws higher than those of art—namely, the laws of truth. This is the kernel of the whole matter. Bishop Thirlwall is unhappily not buried at St. David's; and, as he is not buried there, St. David's must not make believe that he is. St. David's has suffered a great wrong; but she must bear her wrong as she can, and not try to mend it by an artistic lie. What then is to be done? There really is nothing to be done except to fall back on some of those secondary schemes which we should certainly fight against if there had been any chance of doing what is really the right thing. There is really nothing to do but to fall back on a memorial window, a restoration of some part of the building, or any other of those shifts out of which people must choose when the fault of others leaves them nothing but shifts to choose from. The choice which has been actually made seems to be as good as could be made under the circumstances. It is better, we think, that a memorial which is to be strictly a memorial, a memorial which is to be the nearest substitute for the real monument which cannot be had, should be something which it is good and desirable to have, but which yet is not of direct practical usefulness. Such an object was easily suggested by the present state of the church of St. David's. The west front which forms the end of that wonderful nave is utterly unworthy of the building. An ugly, but solid, composition of Nash, which is a great disfigurement as a matter of art, but which there could be no ground for sweeping away on any merely utilitarian ground. To substitute something better would really seem to be a fitting a memorial of Bishop Thirlwall as can be had, now that the really fitting memorial cannot be had. A west front harmonizing with the rest of the church, stern and simple without, enriched to any amount of gorgeousness within, would be a work worthy of its object. In glass or in sculpture some place would be found for the only form of direct commemoration of the Bishop which is left to his own church. His figure, with his staff in one hand, with the eight books of his History in the other, might well fill a niche over the west door or the west window. Something of this kind has been wisely decided on by the meeting at Caernarthen; but of course no details are fixed. All that has been done is to make choice of the west front of the cathedral church as the subject of improvement or restoration, in some shape or other, in memory of the great deceased. Such a scheme, if worthily carried out, will be the best thing that can be done as matters actually stand. May its promoters go on and prosper.

THE MIGRATIONS OF FASHION.

WE are constantly told that nothing can be more unaccountable than the migrations of London society; and also that its successive removes were made without any reason except caprice. But a moment's thought will show the fallacy of such assertions. A single example to the contrary is fatal to them. St. James's Square was built in 1676, became at once one of the chief centres of fashionable life, and remains the same after the lapse of exactly two hundred years. Two hundred years earlier the Strand was in fashion, and, had there been room, it might have remained so until the present day. Fashion has shown no caprice, and it required nothing short of an Act of Parliament to dislodge the last great noble who inherited one of those riverside palaces. Nor did this dislodgment take place two hundred years ago, when St. James's Square became the fashion, nor a hundred years ago, when Portland Place was built, but last year, when the busy City, having overflowed from Fleet Street, had swallowed up the last of the palaces which formerly bordered the Strand. The process began with Arundel House, and paused for a time at the mansion whose gate at the end of Buckingham Street is actually the only remnant, besides the Savoy Chapel, left to tell of the time when the Thames was the ordinary highway of the citizens, and a house by its bank the fittest residence for a duke. The exigencies of increased population, not the caprices of fashion, have dictated the principal migrations. In Elizabeth's reign the number of people who required accommodation within reach of the House of Lords was only one-eighth or one-seventh of what it is now, and the untitled aristocracy has increased at a still greater rate. The order of country squires who now have houses in Belgravia or Tyburnia did not then exist. When Master Wentworth came up from Lillingston Lovell to make his famous motion as to the Queen's private income and expenditure, he probably occupied lodgings or a room in an inn somewhere in Westminster. When his descendant Sir Charles Dilke, prompted by an ambition which in this case has the excuse of being hereditary, makes a similar motion in the Parliament of Queen Victoria, county members have their houses in St. James's Square,

in Belgravia, along Park Lane and Piccadilly, on the Bayswater Road, and round Kensington Gardens; while the whole fortune of all the sixty or seventy peers who constituted the House of Lords in 1576 would be required to make up the income of a Staffordshire brewer or a Berkshire financier, three hundred years later.

There is a petition among the papers at Knole which, though it is not dated, unquestionably belongs to the later years of the reign of James I. It complains of the great increase in the population of London, and begs the King to take measures for preventing the growth of the town. Proclamations against building fresh houses are said to have been made on more than one occasion, and it was owing rather to the over crowding which was thus caused than to caprice, that noblemen and others who could afford it removed further and further towards the country. Within a very few years two immense districts covered with fine houses have arisen in Belgravia and Bayswater. Fifty years ago or less the Five Fields extended from Chelsea to Piccadilly, and hardly a house was to be seen between Milbank and Brompton. In those days people of rank and wealth affected two old districts and one new one, Portland Place and the terraces surrounding the Regent's Park, with all the streets between Portman Square and Langham Place, formed the refuge of the movable fashion. A centre which may be placed, according to Sydney Smith, in Grosvenor Square, existed then and exists still. St. James's Square, as we have seen, was what it still is, and the floating part of the fashionable population had begun to desert Bloomsbury and make its first move across the line marked by Regent Street. In 1826 the late Lord Farnborough published anonymously a tract on the improvements then in progress, and some curious and even instructive deductions may be drawn from it. The age was one of change, and the writer remarks that, "if we had been told some years ago that a message could be conveyed from London to Plymouth and an answer returned in ten minutes, that the metropolis would be brilliantly illuminated by the smoke of coal, or that by means of a kettle of boiling water we should obtain a speedy conveyance from Dover to Calais," our credulity would have been put to the test. It is curious to observe in this passage with what wonder the clumsy semaphore erected in 1816 on the top of the Admiralty was regarded by people who lived before railways and the electric telegraph; but this is not to our present purpose, for Lord Farnborough goes on to remark upon many projected improvements, such as the removal of the Exchequer offices from Palace Yard, and of the stables which abutted upon the Banqueting House in Whitehall. But his principal subjects are Buckingham Palace and the National Gallery, and he remarks of the former that, when the foreign princes visited this country in 1814, one of them, "who had received from us very large sums of money for the prosecution of the revolutionary war," spoke contemptuously—perhaps to Lord Farnborough himself—as to our royal palaces. "It was observed," we read, "in answer, that our magnificence was to be seen in our subsidies, not in our palaces." In those days, as from the reign of William III., St. James's Palace was the residence of the Court; and though Buckingham Palace may now be considered to have finally eclipsed St. James's, since Drawing Rooms and Levées are held no longer in the old Palace, yet the residences of the Heir Apparent and other members of the Royal Family are still upon the ancient site, and Marlborough House is rather to be accounted the centre of contemporary fashion than Buckingham Palace.

St. James's Palace and Whitehall are certainly nearer to what were then the fashionable quarters of Soho and Lincoln's Inn Fields than they are to the present suburbs of Kensington or even to Pimlico. Bloomsbury, when Lord Montague built the house which has since become the British Museum, was for the most part open country; but that was fully two hundred years ago, and the Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch then lived on the other side of the Oxford Road, and Wardour Street had not been built. Even so late as 1734 the anonymous author of a *Critical Review of the Public Buildings* complains that, though Bedford Row is one of the most noble streets London has to boast of, the houses are not sufficiently noble for their situation; and it would seem that a good opportunity was then lost for making a very fine and fashionable quarter where the houses of one or two great nobles, including that of the Dukes of Bedford, still stood. Soho was getting too crowded, and Drury Lane had never recovered the bad name it got in the year of the Great Plague. This is perhaps the first time we find healthiness considered in determining the movements of the London population. But a little later Bow Street, running as it did from the confines of the riverside palaces to the open country by St. Giles's "in the fields," was the place of most fashionable resort. The great Dr. Radcliffe had a house there when he told King William he would not take His Majesty's two legs to have his three kingdoms, and when he offended Queen Anne by saying she had the vapours. It seems a question whether he lived in Bow Street or Great Queen Street when he had his famous passage of wit with Kneller. Walpole says Queen Street, and Cunningham follows him; but Jesse says Bow Street, and adds that the garden was behind Covent Garden Market, on the site of the present Opera House. It was therefore a possible relic of the Abbot's garden which gave its name to the district. But there is no question that in Queen Street the Duke of Newcastle resided when he was Premier, the house, No. 77, being now the dépôt of the S.P.C.K., although it narrowly escaped purchase as an official residence for the Lord Chancellor. A greater Duke of Newcastle, with his celebrated Duchess, Margaret Lucas, whose book about her husband has recently been reprinted, lived far to the east even

of Lincoln's Inn, at Newcastle House in Clerkenwell, where some dingy streets still preserve this name. He died just two hundred years ago, and Clerkenwell shows little sign now of the prosperous days when not only the Duke, but Lord Northampton, Bishop Burnet, and other great folk had houses within the precincts of the Priory. Monk's widow, the Duchess of Albermarle, was a later tenant of Newcastle House, and one of the many houses said to have belonged to Oliver Cromwell was in the close. But to chronicle fully the migrations of early fashion, it would be needful to speak of Leicester Square, when the Prince of Wales rented Leicester House; of Aldergate Street, when the Earls of Thanet had a house there which is still standing and is better known as the residence of the famous Shakesbury, and when the Duke of Lauderdale and the Bishops of London, and still earlier the Earls of Westmoreland, lived in it; of Bishopsgate, when Crosby Hall was in its glory, and Richard III. plotted there against his nephew; and of many other places within or without the City boundaries which still contain evidence of the favours of the rich and noble.

The modern movements of the fashionable world deserve better the use of the word capricious. None perhaps has been more unaccountable than that which in our own day made Pimlico for a short time the vogue. Before the Great Exhibition of 1851 had discovered the capabilities of Kensington Gore, and while the genius of a Cole still slumbered under a pseudonym, every one who wished to be considered "in society" thought it necessary to have a house in the swamp which Mr. Cubitt had reclaimed. There was some connexion apparently in people's minds between Pimlico and Belgravia; and if the landlords had been wiser and the houses stronger the tale of its prosperity might have been longer. But fragile habitations, built with a maximum allowance of plaster and paint and a minimum thickness of brick, are costly to keep up and unwholesome to live in: some of the streets in that region now look as if nothing short of rebuilding would make them fit for human dwelling-places. Settlers of the better class are now congregating about Kensington, North and South, and it is sad enough to see the provision too commonly made for their reception. Many of the new houses are little better than sieves through which wind and rain readily penetrate, while the drainage need not be mentioned, if indeed any drainage exists. Vast districts of Bayswater are hardly more habitable except for their situation, which for the most part is high; and the proximity of the Park and Kensington Gardens gives to certain streets in Tyburnia an advantage which both doctors and builders seem determined to improve. The course of the Westbourne may be traced at nightfall across the Park by a line of mist, but the hills on either side, Notting Hill and Craven Hill on the west, and the original Tyburn Hill on the east, have been covered with streets and squares within a very few years. The gallows, which only took their final departure from Edgeware Road in 1783, probably prevented the earlier colonization of Bayswater. Fashion, indeed, seems to be in some measure returning to the older part of this district, and several handsome mansions have of late been built in St. Marylebone: houses which promise to stand for a century at least, and to be tolerably warm and comfortable even in winter. Possibly the dry sandy soil of the south-western part of the parish may have had some share in recommending it; but the great attraction has no doubt been Hyde Park. Wherever people can see green trees, and at least the semblance of green grass, the house-building speculator is sure of a good return for his outlay, and it is hard to believe that Grosvenor Place, Park Lane, and the Bayswater Road can ever cease to be favourite neighbourhoods for those who can afford to live in them. But it is strange that some of the older places should be deserted by people who have families to house. Rents are lower in Fitzroy Square and the adjoining streets, with their solid, comfortable mansions, than in the wretchedly built and crowded avenues and terraces of Earl's Court or Brompton. A man who has children might, but for the exigencies of fashion, have large and airy rooms, light, and good drainage for less than he pays to be squeezed into a villa at Kensington, where his neighbour's piano, the noise of little feet on the floor above, bad smells, and a standing account with the plumber and the druggist make his life a burden. It is but seldom that a young couple looking for a house think of anything but the rent and the proximity of great folk. The soil, the elevation, the thickness of the walls, even the drainage and the water, are seldom mentioned; and we have yet to see the day when an advertiser with houses to let will think it worth while to mention such considerations. Influenza, bronchitis, the annual epidemic of fever, seem all to be well compensated by living opposite a peer and having one's name in the *Court Guide*.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER ON CHURCH AND STATE.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER has contributed to the current number of the *Contemporary Review* an article on the relations of civil and ecclesiastical power, under the rather medieval-sounding title of *Concordia Sacerdotii atque Imperii*. We are bound to say, however, that there is nothing scholastic about his paper except its name. He writes of course as a Roman Catholic, and to some extent—the reason of our qualification will appear presently—as an Ultramontane, but he does not, like most of the principal critics of Mr. Gladstone's Vatican pamphlets, write like a schoolman, a special pleader, or a pedant. His essay does not perhaps throw as much light on the general question of

the relations of Church and State as might have been expected, being mainly a plea against any persecution of the former by the latter, suggested by the conflict now going on in Germany, to which allusion is constantly made. And, so far as he pleads for this immunity, we are entirely with him, though in some of its details his argument appears open to criticism. It is remarkable, however, on the whole for its simplicity and directness, and for the frankness of its avowals. Thus, for instance, we find him expressly condemning all religious persecution, "whether Catholic or Protestant," and the Inquisition by name, admitting that writers in former ages have exaggerated the powers of the hierarchy, and that "the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church have overstepped the legitimate boundaries of spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction"—which, by the way, is a condemned proposition of the Syllabus. And, as a necessary consequence of these admissions, we find Papal infallibility restricted hardly less stringently than by Dr. Newman; but on this last point we shall have a word to say presently. The line of argument is always plausible, and often more than plausible; yet the writer somehow manages to pass *currende calamo* over awkward questions on which one would have been glad to hear what explanation he had to offer. But we must now proceed to examine the essay a little more closely. We need hardly remind our readers that it differs from most apologies which have been recently put forward for the Roman Catholic position, emanating from a layman and a lawyer as well as a man of considerable learning, and not a mere hot-headed partisan.

The writer starts from the fact, which can hardly be denied, that "history shows that the civil power has always been jealous of the spiritual and ecclesiastical," though he does not add, what is also true, that the jealousy has not been all on one side. This naturally leads him to notice the scare created by Mr. Gladstone's pamphlets as to the State all over Europe being in danger from the revived influence of the Church, and suggests the obvious retort that the civil power has an absolute monopoly of physical and material force at its disposal. "It can crush a Church by bitter and continued persecution." And this, it is added, it is doing at present in Germany "under a disguised military despotism," and in Italy "under a vulgar, ignorant, corrupt, and rapacious democracy." As the alleged persecution in Italy is not again dwelt upon, we pass over this reference to it with the remark that the writer has not strengthened his argument by so conspicuously false an analogy. The ecclesiastical policy of the German and Italian Governments is so far from being identical, that their respective methods of dealing with the Church are almost diametrically opposite. But this by the way. To the material resources of the State, the Church, we are reminded, can oppose only the force of opinion. "Roman Catholic opinion is called Vaticanism; yet it is only opinion," and its effect depends wholly on individual opinion. "If Catholics did not believe in Papal infallibility, the decree would be a dead letter . . . a confessor may refuse absolution, but no one can be compelled to go to confession." This is true, in a sense, though it is not so many years since people were compelled to go to confession in the Roman States, and, we believe, elsewhere also; but it hardly goes to the root of the matter. Individual opinion, or its outward profession, necessarily depends a good deal on the public opinion of that world, whatever it be, with which the particular individual comes most directly into contact; and it would not be safe to argue, and certainly is not true in fact, that every Roman Catholic who tacitly submits to the Vatican decrees individually approves them. Many reasons short of that may account for their silence, to one of which the writer refers; for although, "if a man believes that the sacraments are unnecessary, the refusal of absolution is nugatory," it does not follow because he believes in absolution that he believes in the infallibility of the Pope. With a good deal of Sir G. Bowyer's strictures on Prince Bismarck's policy we can go along; but it is a mistake, we imagine, to say that he is determined to put down the "doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope." He has certainly always professed not to interfere with doctrine, as such; and while it may be difficult to reconcile all that has taken place with this profession, we are not aware of any attempt having been made to inflict penalties on bishops or priests merely for teaching the Vatican dogmas. We agree, however, with the writer, that if all persecution is hateful, a persecution which is not thorough is a blunder as well as a crime. "There was some sense in the persecutors of former days. Their policy was extermination. We condemn and abhor those persecutors, whether Catholic or Protestant; but we must admit that they knew the object which they had in view, and they understood the means of attaining it. If Prince Bismarck undertook to expel or exterminate the German Catholics, he would have a policy, and he might call himself a statesman." But in an age when such drastic measures are impossible, to legislate against religious opinion is sure to prove as ineffectual as it is unjust. It could only be excused by showing that the civil power is menaced by a real danger from the spiritual; and of this Prince Bismarck has produced no evidence, though he has been repeatedly challenged to do so. If it is a "grave error of judgment to attempt to justify everything that has ever been said, written, or done in the Church"—we do not know how Cardinal Manning will appreciate this frank admission—it is a still more serious mistake to turn against the present Church and its members anything wrong or questionable that can be collected from the enormous mass of ecclesiastical acts and documents during the last eighteen centuries.

So far, if he has advanced nothing very new, Sir G. Bowyer is on pretty safe ground. It is when he comes to grapple with the general question of the due relations of Church and State that the discussion becomes more interesting, but hardly more satisfactory. No objection, of course, can be raised to the broad principle, from which he starts, that as long as men continue to believe in the immortality of the soul and the existence of God, religion must always hold its own, even in some cases against and above temporal laws. Nor is there any difficulty about admitting St. Augustine's interpretation of the words, "My kingdom is not of this world"—namely, that "while in this world, it is founded on principles and intended for purposes different from those of civil and political governments." The real difficulty lies precisely in the circumstance that the spiritual society, however diverse its principles and aims, is and must be in this world, and therefore is inevitably liable to be brought into contact, if not collision, with secular ordinances and powers. And this difficulty is increased rather than diminished, as far as the State is concerned, by the fact on which Sir G. Bowyer insists, that the Roman Catholic Church, being a cosmopolitan, and not merely local society, "its constitution and laws belong legally to the condition of mankind anterior to, or at least apart from, the formation of separate States." In those mixed questions of which both powers take cognizance under different aspects, the two often mutually support each other, but not always. And hence arises a real or apparent conflict. We may dismiss, as practically irrelevant, such extreme cases as those here referred to of Nebuchadnezzar commanding an act of idolatry, or the persecution of the early Christians, where the conscientious duty of disobedience to the law is obvious enough. The writer comes nearer the point when he touches on questions of marriage and education. Let us take his treatment of the former. The law may, if it pleases, make the civil contract valid and sufficient; but the Church has a right to require, as it does wherever the Tridentine decrees are in force, the ecclesiastical solemnity also for a valid marriage. This sounds moderate enough; but what if the Church goes on to treat those who have been married by civil contract only, even when not members of her communion, as under no matrimonial obligations to each other, so that both or either of them may have her sanction for contracting a fresh alliance? Sir G. Bowyer can hardly be ignorant that a scandalous case of the kind has recently occurred in this country, to say nothing of others in Bavaria, and we should have been glad to know his opinion about it. For such cases are clearly not covered by his statement that "it amounts only to this, that the Church requires something more than the State, because it looks beyond the mere temporal order of society." On the contrary, the Church required of the persons we refer to a great deal less than was required by the State, not to add by the elementary principles of morality also. In the case of the divorce law we agree with the writer that there need be no collision. If the State permits divorce *a vinculo* for certain causes, and the Church forbids it altogether as a violation of the law of God, her prohibition merely restricts those who recognize her authority in the use of their legal rights, without affecting in any way their legal obligations.

But here, just as we hoped that the writer was proceeding to a more comprehensive treatment of the whole question, he suddenly breaks off on a side issue, and devotes several pages to the dogma of Papal infallibility, only returning at the end to his original subject to lay down what, as he puts it, is little better than a truism—that "the Church is not above the State, nor the State above the Church," but that they are related to each other in human society as the soul to the body in the individual man; whence it follows that, as long as the temporal government confines itself to its proper functions, there can be no collision between the two. Be it so; but this principle is not more serviceable for practical guidance than what the writer denounces as the "false, shallow, and stupid" formula of "a free Church in a free State." Either formula runs smoothly enough, till it comes to be applied. An abundant experience shows that the difficulty arises in fixing the proper boundaries of civil and ecclesiastical rights. No one claims for the State the regulation of sacraments, or for the Church the regulation of the police force. It is on the debatable land between the two that there is danger of collision and need for some clearer and more satisfactory adjudication of conflicting claims than we can gather from these pages. We shall not enter further here on Sir G. Bowyer's ingenious defence of the infallibilist dogma—about which he is a decided "minimizer," though he disclaims the name—than to observe that it is not borne out by any single high authority in his Church, with the exception of Dr. Newman. But Dr. Newman, while he is a very high authority in one sense, is no authority at all as representing the accepted Roman view of things; and his explanation has been elaborately attacked as anti-Catholic in the *Dublin Review*, which does represent Rome. It was scarcely worth while to gibbet the people who argue that, "if the Popes had been infallible, they would have remedied the Roman malaria"; but if it is a "figment and absurdity" to suppose the Syllabus an infallible document, as well as those numerous and solemn Papal decrees which have sanctioned the principle and practice of punishing heretics with imprisonment or death, not only is the Vatican dogma reduced to something very like a dead letter, but all its most authoritative exponents are convicted of fundamental error. As regards the Syllabus, indeed, the *Dublin Review* has pretty conclusively proved that it comes under infallible sanction; and Sir G. Bowyer may remember that, in the Jansenist controversy, the Holy See

expressly claimed infallibility on "questions of fact" (which he repudiates), and excommunicated those who denied it. He broadly hints, indeed, that Papal infallibility means no more than "the infallibility of the Roman Catholic Church." If so, we can only reply that the "absurdity" of misinterpreting the decree recoils on the heads of those who framed and sanctioned it. It seems hardly respectful to a General Council to treat its most solemn pronouncements as "much ado about nothing."

THE DECAY OF RURAL TRADITION.

THE editor of a Worcestershire newspaper has invited co-operation throughout that county in an experiment which is so excellent in its aim that it ought to be a success, and at the same time so late in its beginning that it must prove, it is to be feared, more or less of a failure. It is proposed to collect, under the title of "Old Worcestershire," the floating and unwritten, or at least unpublished, treasures of local traditions, customs, legends, proverbs, rhymes, and miscellaneous fireside memories belonging to the county; and, with a wise forethought, all such matter not belonging to the county is distinctly excluded from the plan. Such a work would stand in the same relation to the ordinary county histories as Mr. Green's *History of the English People* does to the ordinary Histories of England; and, if efficiently executed, it would go far to clothe the dry bones of the antiquary's labours with living flesh and blood. To the average antiquary of a century ago it does not appear to have been matter of much concern whether, if a man had not a coat of arms, he had any sort of coat at all. The only characteristic worthy of notice was a crest; and he who did not exhibit a motto might just as well not belong to the race of articulately speaking men. Exceptions were indeed made in favour of such departed worth as might have attained the parochial beatification of a monument; but then it must be in the church itself, and not in company with "the rude forefathers of the hamlet" in the churchyard.

It is, however, only just to Worcestershire men to say that Dr. Nash, the historian of that county, was an antiquary and an observer of a much higher type. His "collections" are full of interesting detail upon matters quite outside the range of the Heralds' College; and the curious old ballad in praise of Malvern and its waters, with its pious refrain, "O praise the Lord," in every verse, is known best, if not exclusively, through his volumes. His search of ancient records kept in view the man as well as his "coat," as in the case of the first known rector of the important parish of Martley:—"Robertus de Lech, persona de Mertle, per fas et nefas ab adolescentia sua nummorum numerum augmentavit, et ille avarus 4 Id. Aprilis (1299) prædonibus peremptus pecuniam perdidit atque vitam. Defuncti funus non patria, vir dolet unus." The reference for this pleasant obituary notice is to "Ann. Wig." (i.e. *Annales Wigornienses*). But even the county historian of wider aims, such as Dr. Nash, would not have considered it worth his while, or of interest to his readers, to collect the old stories and superstitions of the country side. They probably showed, in the later years of the eighteenth century, no sign of dying out, and no Commission or Department had as yet been invented for the express purpose of making war against them. Learned men might correspond with each other on the subject of amazing derivations for local names; but they did not trouble themselves to know why or whether an anxious mother would come to the parson to beg a "Sacrament shilling" to hang round the baby's neck as "good for fits," or the old grandmother, when a thunderstorm was approaching, go to her chest for the "Letter of Our Saviour to King Abgarus," that she might fasten it up on the wall. If the language of old goodwives and nurses now and then reached the ears of wiggled authority, it was probably disposed of after the fashion of Dr. Johnson:—"It is observable that the nurses call sleep by, by; lullaby is therefore lull to sleep." Why "the nurses call sleep by, by" did not concern our great-grandfathers very much.

Such an inquiry as that which has been lately set on foot in *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, and which has been taken up with some interest in a part of the county, might help to solve several questions of general historical interest. Among others, it would probably throw some curious light upon that chronological puzzle which everybody finds it so easy to answer wrong—the date of the Reformation. Rural England might be found not altogether to have borne out the favourite theory of the short and easy manuals, that the religious life of the people was at a certain fixed time, by order from London, turned upside down and emptied out like a drawer in a house-cleaning, and then, after being carefully scrubbed and aired, filled up again with duly authorized contents. There would seem to have remained good many odds and ends in the corners, suggesting that the contents of the drawer had been subjected to a very different process of change. And not a few shreds and bits of broken material would extend the suggestion to an earlier date, in the change from Pagan to Christian worship, and indicate in various charms and superstitions that the old gods, like the Canaanites, held their ground in many a hill fastness for a long time after the general conquest of their land. But during the last half-century, and especially during the present reign, the process of house-cleaning has been going on throughout the country in a very business-like and unsentimental fashion; and a millennium of English rural life would seem to be approaching,

or at least yearned after, in which the old home, swept and purified from the accumulated "rubbish" of ages, with its dear familiar fragrance of rose-leaves and lavender, but qualified, it must be allowed, with some flavour of mildew and old leather, shall shine forth in perfect uniformity of design from Berwick to St. Michael's Mount, radiant in whitewash and odorous with yellow soap.

It is certain that, with our great and advancing social changes, the old memories and traditions have been disappearing fast. Our Sibyl, with her volumes of local history, is repeating the experience of her prophetic predecessor. The reason is not far to seek. Let any one plunge into the depth of even a moderately remote country district, such, for instance, as that which lies beneath him from Malvern to the West and North-west, and, eschewing every highway with a trace of Macadam about it, search out the ancient ways to which old maps or his own eyes may guide him—the main lines of packhorse communication or the cross-roads which led to market. He will probably soon discover, when his path touches some modern road, a wooden receptacle resembling half a Noah's Ark, nailed on a gate-post or hung in a tree; and he will rightly divine that this is meant for a rustic post-office. Let him, after the first inevitable smile at the ways of a primitive people, carry back his thought to their life in the days before this "scent" of the world's "paper-chase" was laid there, and when their only roads were the old tracks which he has been following. The people certainly could not write. For the most part, they could not read either; if they could, the Bible and Prayer-Book, and the broadsheets of carols or of songs from the pack of the infrequent pedlar, made up the bulk of their available literature; while wonderful prescriptions for the cure of rheumatism or of the stone might be found preserved in quaint MS. on a fly-leaf in the singing-gallery. After the day's labour, by the farm kitchen fire, in the summer twilight or the long winter evening, almost their only mental and intellectual resource would lie in telling over the old stories and sayings, and in singing the old ballads and rhymes. Such education as there was current would run in the same grooves. The baby must be sung to sleep; the restless or fractious child must be soothed by a story; the dame would teach the carol which she knew, and the prayer which she herself had once learnt. Thus the traditions remained, and, which is of still more importance, traditionary legends received uncriticizing belief. The parish clerk, a corporation sole, was their ordinary trustee; and the self-elective hierarchy of village singers in the larger parishes kept up the succession of ballads and graver tunes.

Another element in rural life and society had an important influence on the preservation of this unwritten literature. Mr. Hughes was, we think, the first to point out, in *Tom Brown*, that the *vates sacer* of the hall and the rectory had ceased, or is ceasing, to perform his once established function of learning in his boyhood and preserving in his later years the traditions of his home neighbourhood. He had not in the old days become the cosmopolitan that he is now; his early interests were very much confined to the narrow circle of his home; and the stories which he picked up in the nursery and the village were retained in a mind more intelligent than those of nurses and labourers, if not equally credulous. The existing condition of our social system through all its grades is fatal to the maintenance of such a state of things. Oral traditions are dying out, and those which have not already been preserved, or which cannot now be collected, in books must gradually cease to be. It is not within our present purpose to comment on the social or moral aspects of this change, with the causes and progress of which alone we are concerned. It is needless also to do more than refer to the altered conditions and opportunities of popular knowledge, and to the increased mental supplies for even the most uneducated modern labourer, which will have been sufficiently indicated by contrast with the condition already described. As a consequence of these, however, it is plain that the old local legends and traditions are no longer believed. Older people who may have heard them in their childhood are either ashamed of them or do not care to repeat them; and, though they may occasionally be extracted by careful cross-examination, the very process implies that their heads must already have been set down in the questioner's brief.

The school and the clergyman together have done a great deal, partly of deliberate purpose and partly by indirect action, to banish the old carols and the miscellaneous local rhymes or doggerel from the storehouse of childish memory. In a neighbourhood where, not forty years ago, every village child, when asked as to his or her prayers, would reply, "I says 'Our Father,' and 'I believe,' and 'Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,'" not a single child, in a school specially questioned for the purpose, was found to be acquainted even with the name of the old Angelo-Evangelistic invocation. The combined efforts of two or three educated memories may perhaps recover the whole of the curious "Catharine and Clement" rhymes associated in West Worcestershire with the children's custom of begging for apples in the last week of November; but the legendary fame of St. Catharine has almost entirely died out of remembrance in the Teme-valley district, where fifty years since it continued in undiminished freshness. The tracks of the Saint's "Mare and Colt," and of the iron patten-rings of the "maid" who stole them, may be found still by the curious upon blocks of the Old Red Sandstone lying in the devous course of the brooks (and of their tributary rills as well), down which the animals were led to avoid detection; but probably there is not an inhabitant of the district now living who would not laugh at the belief which was firmly held there in the early part of the

present century. Drainage has disposed of the Will-o'-the-Wisp who was known as a contemporary in the same region; and the rural policeman (*vice* the parson, withdrawn) has effectually laid the ghosts. It is therefore without much anticipation of any large measure of success that we offer a hearty welcome to the proposal lately issued by our Worcester contemporary, and express our hope that all who are able to assist in carrying it out will co-operate in furnishing the materials. Every year will make the work less susceptible of efficient performance. It should be remembered, however, that a record of ancient local customs and traditions is not the same thing as a miscellany of recent "fæcœus" and personal gossip; while, for want of the better material, a tendency to supply the inferior may very naturally be looked for. The promoters of the "Old Worcestershire" collection have evidently been aware of this probability; and the column now published weekly is a mere gathering of rough material, to be sorted and sifted at a future time, for the purposes of the ultimate publication.

Poverty will no doubt acknowledge the large debt of gratitude which it owes to the Education Department, the Training Colleges, and perhaps even to Spelling Bees and the *Daily Telegraph*, for the spread of that higher enlightenment which, from its centres in the towns, has illumined the depths of remote valleys in the rural districts. At the same time poverty will not forget that the certificated schoolmaster, "abroad" in the company of the penny journalist, has done a great deal with his high-polite English to destroy the old grammatical and philological landmarks of his countrymen. It would be too much to ask of her Majesty's Inspectors that they should require school managers, Boards, and teachers to preserve for future reference a collection of all the local phrases, "vulgarisms," and disallowed pronunciations which they have banished from their "Standards" throughout the land; but the volunteer chiffoiniers who would endeavour thus to collect the sweepings cast outside the school premises might comfort themselves with the hope that their labours will not be unrecognized a hundred years hence. The collector even of "old wives' fables" of local superstitions, and other waifs and strays of an imperfectly educated past, may encourage himself in the same hope. The legends and traditions of the English people are at least of no smaller interest than those old memorials of the Hellenic race which give so vivid and abiding an interest to the first volume of Grote's *History of Greece*.

COMPETING SCHEMES OF ARMY REFORM.

AS the time approaches for the meeting of Parliament, the questions which more particularly engage public attention are discussed with increased earnestness and frequency. Prominent among these questions is the condition of the English army, with the schemes for reform and reorganization which are put forward from all quarters, and in every variety. The assertions hazarded are so startling, and the various plans are so numerous and so different in character, that it becomes difficult for an ordinary observer to preserve a clear notion of what at present exists, or of what is supposed to be required; and yet, in order to criticize fairly the action of the Government in providing for the defence of the country, certain main principles must be kept in view, and certain definite ideas arrived at in regard to the value of the several propositions.

The first point to be settled is the numerical force, divided into the several branches of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, which, in the opinion of those who are best able to estimate the requirements of the country, is necessary for its defence. This force will include not only the troops for the garrison of the United Kingdom, but also the army of India and of the colonies, together with the disposable force which England might find it necessary to despatch to the Continent or elsewhere for the furtherance of her policy. Having, however roughly, estimated the numbers of our army of the future, its composition should next be considered. Under this head must be included the efficiency which it is to attain, and the relative standard of excellence of its component parts. To retain in time of peace an army of a strength sufficient for war is manifestly impossible. Therefore the organization should comprise a first line adapted for ordinary requirements, reserves to fill it up and replenish it in time of war, and a second line as a support when the war has been fully developed. Lastly, the cost of this force must be estimated in relation to the wealth of the country. These are the three main principles on which the organization of an army hinges.

The majority of writers on military reform appear to agree that, if properly maintained, the army which we at present have on paper is numerically sufficient for the purposes required, and that the five hundred thousand men comprised in the regular army, the Militia, the Yeomanry, and the Volunteers, are enough for a country whose first line of defence must always be the navy. The rock on which critics split is the composition of this force, and the best means of raising it, and of keeping it in a due condition of efficiency. A few, of whom Captain Hume may be considered as the exponent, would imitate the example of the military nations of the Continent, and would raise the army by conscription. A larger number, represented by Lord Elcho, would confine conscription to the Militia, inducing men to enlist into the regular army by pay and bounty, and to enter the Volunteers in order to escape the ballot; whilst many writers deprecate any conscription whatever,

alleging that so wealthy a country as England should maintain her army by voluntary enlistment, paying a fair price for her soldiers in the open labour market.

The arguments against conscription for the whole of the English army are so numerous and conclusive that it is unnecessary to do more than allude to them. The tax imposed on the wealth and happiness of a country by forcing into the ranks recruits whose labour otherwise employed would contribute in a far greater degree to its true prosperity could only be justified, and, in fact, would only be possible, if danger such as that which habitually menaces Germany impended over England. Its cost can scarcely be calculated; it fosters emigration by driving men across the Atlantic to escape its reach, and it imposes a burden on a nation from which war, with the hope of future disarmament, might even be welcomed as a means of escape. In Germany its direct money cost cannot even be calculated, as the meagre pay of the soldier is almost necessarily supplemented by help from his relations and friends. In addition to these arguments the necessity of foreign service in peace time for the majority of the English regular army makes conscription out of the question.

The second plan, of putting in force the law which permits conscription by means of the ballot for the Militia, although in some degree open to the same objections, is yet so modified in its operation as to be at least a possible expedient. The period of service would be short, the duty comparatively easy, and the men would not be removed far from their homes; whilst the military tastes that would be engendered, with the hope of good pay, would tend to fill the ranks of the regular army, leaving the Volunteers to be replenished by those who would prefer to serve in the Militia the scarcely less severe training necessary to enable them to reach the requisite standard of efficiency. Mr. Hardy, in his speech on Lord Elcho's motion in May last, thus expressed his opinion of this modified form of conscription:—"The ballot remains as a store on which it may become necessary to draw. I do not think it would be wise to draw upon it unnecessarily; but if necessity should arise, I am sure no Minister with a due sense of his duty would shrink from availing himself of it."

The third plan is to depend entirely on the inducements which can be offered to men to enter the army voluntarily—and among soldiers Militiamen, and even to a certain extent Volunteers, are here included—in fact, to compete in the labour market for a supply of recruits. As, notwithstanding the many advantages which of late years have been conferred on the soldier, this method does not at present keep either the army or the Militia up to their proper numerical strength (to say nothing of the quality of the recruits), many schemes involving more or less radical changes have been put forward by army reformers. These schemes may be comprised generally under two heads. The first is that which finds a supporter in Earl Grey and an advocate in Mr. Holms, of revolutionizing our present system by sweeping away the Militia and depending entirely on a short-service army and on large reserves. The second is that which has recently been recommended with much force by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, and has been frequently advocated by thoughtful men, of making the Militia the recruiting ground and the training school of the regular army, to be followed by short service in the ranks, with voluntary longer service for India, and a fixed period in the Reserves. In regard to the first scheme, Mr. Holms's plans are so crude that it is impossible to reduce them to a practical form; whilst Earl Grey's are tentative, and only possible, even if successful, after many years, as they depend for the formation of Reserves, together with a second line, on the effect of pensions. Both are also open to this objection, that, in place of building on foundations already existing, they pull down in order to reconstruct—a method which is not in accordance with English habits and precedents.

The objections alleged against the Militia scheme are that men will not join the force in sufficient numbers, that commanding officers will dislike to see their regiments made the nursery for another force, and that the Militia is not sufficiently drilled and disciplined to take its place in the field against the trained soldiers of the Continent. In reply, however, it may be fairly said that the supply of men to the Militia will depend on the inducements offered, that the position of colonel of a Militia regiment is so much sought after that the responsibilities attending it can safely be increased, and that the standard of efficiency for the force may, if necessary, be raised. It may also be contended that an emergency which would call for the embodiment of the Militia by threatening direct danger to England could not very well come so suddenly as to allow absolutely no time for preparation; and the experience of 1854 and 1856 shows that, in a comparatively short period, the Militia is capable of attaining very considerable proficiency.

There are thus three schemes before the public, all of them recommended by plausible arguments—namely, an army raised by conscription, an army raised partly by conscription and partly by voluntary service, and an army composed entirely of voluntary recruits; the last scheme being subdivided into two—namely, that which advocates one description of force, formed of men serving in the ranks and men who have passed through the ranks, and who create a Reserve, and the present system, comprising a regular army with its Reserves, and the Militia as a second line. The last two schemes would include the Volunteers as at present constituted; but, according to Lord Elcho's plan, with their standard of efficiency compulsorily raised. Putting aside conscription, and taking for granted that the larger part, if not the whole, of the army must be recruited by voluntary enlistment—acknowledging at the same

time that the results at present obtained are most unsatisfactory, that many branches of the regular army are much below their proper strength, that the recruits are too young and too weak for service in the field or in India, and that the Militia is very far short of its proper numbers—it may be useful to review the several propositions for attaining the desired end which various army reformers have tried their hands at framing.

On more than one occasion Sir Lintorn Simmons, in common with others well qualified to give an opinion, has pointed out the waste of life, and even of money, caused by enlisting for short service lads of seventeen and eighteen, and has shown that, for the regular army at least, men of twenty or twenty-one should alone be taken. This has been acknowledged by the writer of the article in the *Edinburgh Review* already quoted, who proposes as a remedy that the Militia should enlist these lads into their ranks, and after training them for three years pass them on to the regulars, sufficient pay, in whatever shape it may be dispensed, being given to induce their transfer of service. A mutual exchange of soldiers between the Militia and the Line would be much facilitated if the former were raised, as was the case some few years ago, in great measure from the agricultural districts; but, in consequence of the gradual absorption of the surplus rural population into the large towns, and of the increased demand for farm labour, the class of men who enter the Militia, as well as the regular army, has changed in character, and the ranks are now filled from the more migratory population of the towns. On every ground this is to be regretted; for it is as true in our own day as it was when Socrates pointed out the superiority as soldiers of the agricultural class, that the backbone of an army should be formed of the rural population.

Common sense tells us that, in order to obtain an article of value, its proper cost must be paid, and therefore, if the country determines to compete for soldiers in the labour market, it must offer sufficient inducements, remembering that short service, with all its advantages, requires a very much larger annual supply of men than long service, and consequently involves a considerable addition of expense in the item of recruiting. What inducements would be sufficient is a separate question, and one which has led to much variety of opinion. In comparing a soldier's career with that of a labourer or mechanic, it must be acknowledged that it is usually less laborious, and to many young men more attractive; on the other hand, it unfortunately does not find favour with parents, and it also necessitates the surrender of a good deal of the liberty enjoyed by the civilian. Putting the pros and cons against each other, the infantry soldier's pay ought at least to equal that of the best unskilled labour. Owing to the conditions of his life, it would be obviously impossible to give a soldier his entire pay in money. He must be clothed, fed, housed, and tended in sickness; consequently the surplus only will go into his pocket. But it has been found by experience that, to prevent soldiers on leaving the army from falling into destitution owing to previous improvidence, the State must save for them, and consequently that, if long service is resorted to, pensions (merely another form of pay) are desirable. The pocket-money of the soldier is thus very considerably reduced, and the direct attraction to recruits to enter the service is diminished by the means taken for their future well-being. A sum down as bounty on enlistment may attract men more than pension on discharge (the amounts being the same); but the first has been found to have so demoralizing an effect as to be rejected, unless under exceptional circumstances, although it has the convenience that it can be raised or lowered according to the demand for men. Many valuable suggestions, amongst others those made by Archdeacon Wright, have recently been offered for the benefit of the soldier, but nearly all involve expenditure of money, and the Minister of War is obliged, not only to consider their real value to the soldier, but also whether they will have the effect of inducing recruits to join the ranks. The proposal of deferred pay, to increase according to length of service, has met with much favour, and has been ably advocated by Captain Trench; but although there is much that recommends itself in the scheme, the remarks of Lord Grey, who points out the failure of the plan, tried forty years ago, of paying the discharged soldier a lump sum down, are well worthy of consideration.

A part from the question of deferred pay as a part of the actual remuneration of the soldier, it has been advocated as a means of inducing men to enter and continue in the Reserves—a matter of considerable difficulty when the migratory condition of the population is considered. This aspect of the case brings under notice one of the most important points connected with the organization of an army. The army that went to the Crimea did its work nobly as long as it lasted; but there were no reserves, and the raw recruits died and disappeared almost as soon as they were landed. Reserves to fill up the ranks to war strength, and to close the gaps caused by death and sickness, are a necessary adjunct to every standing army. The advocates of short service in the ranks very properly put this forward as one of the principal arguments in its favour, and no scheme can be of any value that does not provide for a sufficient supply of duly trained men to enter the ranks on the immediate threat of war. At present the inducements to enrol in the reserved force are not sufficient, and Lord Cardwell's plans in this respect do not appear to have succeeded. His localization scheme, which theoretically promises well, requires a longer period to test its practical value, and, above all things, the nation ought to guard itself against hasty conclusions and a restless desire for change. The question of army reform is not one that should be approached

in a narrow or party spirit; the national interests at stake are too serious. Great patience in forming a judgment should be exercised; and due consideration should be given to the difficulty of providing an efficient army without so great a tax on the labour or the money of the country as to provoke the antagonism of the constituencies. In this article no plan is advocated, no scheme proposed. We have merely attempted to lay before those who will have to criticize the coming action of Parliament a short statement of the matter as it at present stands.

THE VESTRIES AND THE SNOW.

THE old question about the *custodes* has just turned up in a very curious way in the Marlborough Street Police Court. The Vestry of St. George's, Hanover Square, exists under the authority of an Act the title of which describes it as intended to provide for "the better local management of the Metropolis," including, among other things, the cleansing of the streets. It is of course as plain as anything can be that the meaning of the Act is that the Vestries should see to keeping the town clean and decent. The Vestry of St. George's, however—and we are afraid it does not stand alone—has chosen to interpret the duties imposed upon it in a very singular manner. Instead of removing nuisances, it has taken upon itself to create them. By the 125th section of the Metropolis Local Management Act, it is enacted that "it shall be lawful for every Vestry, and they are hereby required, to appoint and employ a sufficient number of persons to contract with any company or persons for the sweeping and cleansing of the several streets within their parish or district, and for collecting and removing all dirt, ashes, rubbish, ice, snow, and filth, and for the cleansing out and emptying of cesspools, sewers, and drains." The manner in which St. George's Vestry carries out these duties in regard to snow is, it seems, to employ a contractor to remove the snow from certain streets, and then to pile it up in other streets, and leave it there till a thaw sets in, and the accumulation is gradually dispersed by natural causes. The magistrate remarked that, as the snow was originally mixed with mud and muck, and by its melting became still worse, it well deserves to be considered as filth. It is evident that, if the word "removing" in the Act merely implied transferring a nuisance from one place to another, the same process might be applied to the other kinds of filth mentioned in the Act; and the inhabitants of Grosvenor Square, or any other part of the town, might any day find themselves swamped with the refuse of the cesspools or drains. It is perhaps only a London Vestry that could possibly conceive the idea of carrying out a law in such manner. The vestrymen of St. George's have perhaps been misled by the saying, immortalized by Lord Palmerston, that dirt is only matter in a wrong place; but the course of reasoning by which they arrived at the conclusion that Grosvenor Square was the right place for dirt is difficult to imagine. It seems to be the idea of the Vestry that the inhabitants of Grosvenor Square are stuck-up people, who think a great deal too much of themselves; but it may be imagined that even unpretending people in Whitechapel or Lambeth might equally resent having huge embankments of damp and fetid filth built up in front of their houses. That it should occur to a Vestry to behave in this barbarous manner, and further, that even after the outrage has been exposed, it should be necessary to appeal to a police magistrate in order to get it driven into the dense heads of the vestrymen that they have no right to act in that way, is certainly a strange illustration of the practical aspects of modern civilization. No doubt it is desirable that much-used thoroughfares should be cleared of refuse which is not only offensive to passers-by but an obstruction to traffic, and if it were deposited in the open spaces of any of the squares merely for a day or so until it could be taken elsewhere, this might be endured. It appears, however, that the dirt was simply transferred from one place to another, and there left without any further thought about it or any attempt to deal with it, and so became much more noxious than when spread over the streets. It is needless to say that a mass of moist dirt steaming up in the air, soaking into the ground, and possibly even into the houses, and spreading dampness and miasma on every side, is not merely an inconvenience, but a positive danger. What is meant by the Act is clearly not that refuse shall be shifted from one place to another where it is equally in the way, but that it shall be removed to some place where it will do no harm.

The summonses in this case were nominally taken out against the contractor, but the real culprit was the Vestry, which justified his conduct. Mr. Livingstone, the surveyor, stated that his orders to the scavengers were to remove snow from the principal thoroughfares and to heap it up in lumps, so that the contractor might have "it carried away as quickly as possible"; but the question turns on what is "as quickly as possible." In this instance the snow was left to accumulate for seven days, and was added to until it attained formidable proportions, as many persons may have seen for themselves. When there is a heavy fall of snow in London there is no doubt a difficulty in immediately disposing of it, just as there is a difficulty in getting rid of other kinds of refuse; but it is absurd to speak of this difficulty as insuperable. Nobody expects everything to be made perfectly comfortable under such circumstances all at once; all that can be asked for is that what can reasonably be done should be done. In this case, it is said, the snow was removed to one of the squares, or to the Park, whichever was nearest to the main road to be cleared; but some

consideration should have been shown in distributing the snow. There might have been room for a moderate quantity for a day, but not for mountains to remain a week or more on the chance of melting. Again, a little trouble or expense in carting the snow further off would have been a small matter compared with the extreme unpleasantness, as well as danger, inflicted on householders who found themselves surrounded by walls of frozen mud. It is not very far from any part of St. George's parish to Hyde Park. The magistrate held that the Vestry was authorized to collect and remove the snow from the streets; but then this refuse could not be left indefinitely in some other place where it was equally a nuisance. There must, he said, be a reasonable user of this power, and when there was a collection, there must be a removal within a reasonable time. In this case he thought the limit of reasonable time had been much exceeded, and many persons besides the residents in Grosvenor Square will think so too. It is all very well to talk of public convenience; but the people in Grosvenor Square, and in other squares which have been similarly treated, are also part of the public, and are entitled to consideration, even though they are not shopkeepers. If the Vestry cannot discover any way of keeping the streets clean except by raising hills of snow in particular squares, they had better let it alone. But, as everybody knows, there is no impossibility in the matter at all. It is only a question of labour and expense. If the Vestry chose to have such work done properly, it could get it done at once. We do not happen to know upon what terms the contractor is paid to do his work, but if he undertakes the bargain, he should be strictly held to it. A writer in the *Times* speaks of the case of "a contractor who, having engaged to keep the streets clean, has allowed himself to be beaten by circumstances, and has chosen rather to pay a limited fine than to incur the unlimited expense of performing what he has undertaken." It would be interesting, however, to know whether the contractors really pay any fines at all, or whether the fines are more than nominal. A man in business who finds that it pays better to submit to a small fine than to do his work thoroughly is exposed to a dangerous temptation. It is obvious that, as regards clearing the streets of snow, a snowstorm or two in the course of the winter is a circumstance which a contractor must reasonably expect, and ought to be prepared for, and it is nonsense to talk of the additional expense of a little more carting being unlimited. It is possible that contractors are at present insufficiently remunerated; but that is another question. They have no right to pocket the money and then shirk the work.

The gross misconduct of St. George's Vestry in this instance is unfortunately by no means an exceptional incident. It is only a characteristic example of the shameful way in which the general functions of these bodies are discharged. The cleaning of the streets, as far as the Vestries are concerned, has become simply an organized imposture. In the City the work is done thoroughly and systematically; but elsewhere it seems to be thought enough to make some nominal arrangement with contractors, and then to leave the contractors to do their duty or let it alone, just as suits their own private convenience. At ordinary times there is a show of doing something; but whenever the services of the scavengers are most required, they seem to subside into a purely passive attitude. Like the rustic who waited for the stream to run by, the contractors wait patiently for the bad weather to come to an end. They no doubt argue that it is useless to clean the streets one day when they are sure to be as bad again on the morrow. It is true that this is just what they are paid to do, but then they can always square things with the Vestry. Hence the lakes of mud, the embankments of dirty snow, the slippery filth of the pavement, more perilous than ice, and all that accumulation of mess and misery which makes the finest thoroughfares of the West End such a vile slough of despond after every heavy fall of rain or snow. It is impossible to imagine a more melancholy fare than to see the wretched paupers who are turned out in Piccadilly to make a pretence of sweeping. They seem to be chosen chiefly for their deafness and other physical infirmities, and their chief occupation is to get in the way of cabs and omnibuses. What little is done for the streets in bad weather appears to be ingeniously devised with a view to increase public discomfort. The mud is scraped from the middle of the road into broad ridges on each side, which have to be jumped or forded by any one who wants to cross. Not only in the cleaning, but in the repair, of the streets the convenience of the public is cruelly disregarded. At least the greater part of this sort of work might be done during the hours when the streets are little used; and, if a sufficient number of men were employed, there would be no difficulty about this, as they could work by gas-light as well as in the early morning. But this would not suit the convenience of contractor, who prefer to dawdle over every job as long as possible, and spin it out to the utmost. The consequence is that the traffic of important thoroughfares is continually interrupted during the most valuable period of the day, while a handful of men are pottering over their work. The other day, to the serious inconvenience of a large number of people, Kensington Road was shut up, and traffic had to go a long way round by the Fulham Road and South Kensington. Yet, for some part of the day at least, any one who had the curiosity to see what was doing in the Kensington Road would have found a couple of steam-rollers standing idle, and the attendants fast asleep.

It is amazing that in a rich, luxurious capital like London such a disgraceful state of things should be tamely submitted

to. What can be more absurd than to go on ornamenting the town and raising fine buildings, when the elements of common decency are neglected in this manner? There must at last, we suppose, be a limit to human endurance in this respect; and it is much to be wished that householders generally would follow the example of those of Grosvenor Square, and take legal measures for preventing the Vestries from making nuisances instead of removing them. It is significant that the only part of London which is kept respectably clean is that where there are happily no vestrymen.

THE MALAY DESPATCHES

A DESPATCH has been received from General Colborne describing the operations which ended in the capture of Kinta. The force, naval and military, employed on this service moved by water up the Perak river at the rate of only seven or eight miles a day. The labour in poling heavily laden boats against a strong current was severe, and delays were caused by groundings of large boats and intricacies of channel. Advancing in this way, and meeting no opposition, the force reached Blanja on 13th December. At this place, which is forty miles north of the Perak Residency, intelligence was received that the Malay chiefs, Lela and Ismael (supposed to be implicated in the murder of Mr. Birch), had passed through Blanja and taken the road to Kinta, and it was decided to advance without delay from the Perak river through the jungle to the Kinta river, and get possession of the Kinta capital. Accordingly General Colborne, leaving a detachment to occupy Blanja, proceeded with the remainder of the force towards Kinta. The extreme badness of the narrow path, through thick jungle interrupted by fallen trees, with swampy ground and deep mud, rendered progress slow. At a turn in the path, about two or three miles from Blanja, the first opposition was encountered. Fire was opened upon the advanced guard of the 10th Regiment from a stockade, concealed by thick jungle, at thirty yards' distance. Our men placed themselves under cover and returned the fire. One of the guns of the Royal Artillery and the naval rocket tube were brought forward, and the enemy retreated. No casualty occurred on our side except a severe wound received by the Colonial Medical Officer, Dr. Randall. After a further advance of two miles fire was opened from another stockade, which was taken possession of in the same manner. No further resistance was encountered until the force arrived within two miles of Kinta, but extreme labour and difficulty were undergone from the badness of the road. Kinta was taken, after a slight resistance, on 17th December, and thus the road through this dangerous jungle was secured before the Malays had time to obstruct it more effectually than they did. The moral effect of the occupation of Kinta was likely to be beneficial. The chiefs Lela and Ismael were supposed to have fled into the Patani or Lower Siam territory. The health of the force had been good.

A force under General Ross went up the Larut river to Malang, and marched thence to Qualla Kangsa, on the Perak river, above Blanja. After taking Kinta as above described, General Colborne sent a message to General Ross asking for reinforcements to hold Blanja. A detachment of 150 men was sent accordingly, and as the river between Qualla Kangsa and Blanja had not been reported open, news of the arrival of this force at Blanja was anxiously awaited. On 22nd December a small steamer returned to Qualla Kangsa, and reported that this force had reached Blanja safely. But the next item of intelligence was less satisfactory. On 4th January General Ross proceeded to disarm Kota Lama, a village on the Perak river, two miles above Qualla Kangsa, with 100 men of the 3rd Buffs and other troops. The disarmament on the right bank of the river was easily effected, and the officer commanding the troops on the left bank sent word that the village on that bank was deserted. Hereupon General Ross disembarked on the left bank with his staff and a small escort, and Malays with muskets and spears surprised and nearly surrounded this isolated party, and killed an officer and wounded several men before they were beaten off. The next intelligence was an official telegram, dated 20th January, announcing that Governor Sir W. Jervois had returned from Penang to Singapore. At the beginning of the month he had obtained information that Ismael and some followers were in the mountains near the source of the Perak river. He immediately sent a body of armed police and trusted Malays to communicate with a friendly chief and obtain his co-operation in surprising this party. He had just learnt by telegram from Penang that Ismael, with the greater part of his followers, escaped, but Pandak Indut, the actual murderer of Mr. Birch, was killed. A hostile rajah was also killed. It appears from a Reuter's telegram that in this expedition to the interior of Perak "great dangers" were incurred, but a sensible loss was inflicted on the Malays. A telegram from Penang, dated 21st January, announces that our troops had attacked the village of Rathalma with artillery and rockets. The Malays fled, and the place was burnt. There was no loss on our side.

This is all that has been reported up to the present time, and we may be sure that, if anything important had occurred, the telegraph would have announced it within twenty-four hours after it was known at Penang. Facts would have been reported officially, and disquieting rumours, if there were any, would have been promptly forwarded by the Correspondents of the newspapers. But they have added little to the official telegrams. An interesting letter dated the 23rd of Decem-

ber appeared in the *Times* of Tuesday last, and as the Correspondent minutely describes his own journey to Qualla Kangsa, we may infer that larger topics of discussion were not forthcoming. He had heard that General Colborne had asked for reinforcements, and it was surmised, but as we have seen wrongly, that he was unable to get to Kinta. He had also heard—and in this there seems to have been some truth—that the troops at Qualla Kangsa were unable to move for want of transport. He took the opportunity of travelling with the Assistant Quartermaster-General, who was going to Qualla Kangsa with coolies. They steamed along the coast and up the Larut river, observing a man-of-war cruising to maintain the efficient blockade of the coast to which is partly ascribed the slight resistance of the Malays. Some merchant of cosmopolitan sympathy would no doubt have supplied them with rifles and ammunition if a strict blockade had not been established. The party steamed up the Larut river and landed at Tellok Kartang, from which place a good road leads in eighteen miles to Bukeet Gantaing. As the Correspondent was groping his way into this place after dark, he was challenged by a Goorkha sentry and informed that he had arrived at the rearmost station of the Qualla Kangsa force. Next day, travelling on an elephant, he reached Qualla Kangsa. There he found the 3rd Buffs, who before leaving Calcutta had their white clothes and helmets dyed a dirty slate colour, which he thinks a very sensible colour for jungle warfare. He remarked a large number of tins of Australian meat, and was informed that, although the officers liked it much, the men grumbled at it. The British soldier is the same all the world over, and would of course show the prejudice of the class to which he belongs at home. The Correspondent describes Qualla Kangsa as beautifully situated on the high banks of the Perak river. He found the officers of all branches of the service sleeping in a large hut, and messing under a tree by fire-light. Each officer was restricted to 40 lbs. of baggage, and similar rations were served out to officers and men. There was no pale ale in camp, but each officer was allowed a glass of rum per day. The health and spirits of the troops were good, and he admired the fine physique and business-like appearance of the men. When he arrived, want of transport, which had been the great difficulty of this expedition, had been overcome. He thinks that coolies should have been brought from Calcutta for land transport, and that pontoons used as rafts would have enabled the force to float down the river to Blanja. However, as we have already seen, enough of boats and rafts were collected to send 150 men to Blanja. The new Resident is said to have adopted a policy of conciliation, which is likely to promote a peaceful settlement; but the Correspondent thinks that it will be necessary for some time to have such a force in hand that the Malays may see that our conciliation is not prompted by conscious weakness. This is only too true, both of the Malays and of other races with whom we are in contact in the East. The failure of the first attack made on the Malays on 7th November, and their surprise of General Ross's escort on 4th January, show that they can be dangerous enemies. The despatches of Lieutenant Abbott, published by the Admiralty, throw much light on the cause of the first failure; and it may interest Mr. Holms to know that, whatever may be the case at home, our Indian army is thought to have too few officers. There were present in that attack 54 Europeans with 4 officers, 20 Malays with 1 officer, and 74 native soldiers with only 1 officer. These soldiers were mostly recruits from the neighbourhood of Lahore, far from perfect in the use of arms, and to a great extent wanting in discipline. When the attack began, the Sepoys and police were huddled together behind a large tree, and proved utterly useless and rather dangerous from their wild firing, which wounded some of the troops. Lieutenant Abbott ascribes the inefficiency of the Sepoys to want of discipline, and to no officer being acquainted with their language; and it would be unreasonable under such circumstances to complain of failure. Captain Innes, who commanded and was killed in this attack, could only make it with such troops as were at hand, and, as we have already said, it is generally better to act promptly, bearing in mind, however, that success cannot always be obtained with imperfect means. If, as a writer in the *Times* represents, the native regiments are so ill supplied with officers that that which happened before this stockade may happen any day on a larger scale, then indeed our supremacy both among the Malays and elsewhere may be in serious danger. If we attempt to build our power in the East on any other foundation than that of our own capacity for war, the edifice will tumble. It may be doubted whether we have enough young active English officers in India, and it is certain that we have plenty of them at home. Sepoys will go anywhere, as they have always done, under proper leaders; but if we expect them to fight, say as our English soldiers fought at Inkermann, we shall be disappointed. It avails little to descant on the treachery of the Malays. "It is their nature to," and they will surprise us whenever we give them the opportunity. It may be hoped that no news is good news, and that this Malay war is done with. But we can easily have another whenever we discontinue the useful practice of sleeping with one eye open.

PICKETING AT ERITH.

THE Erith strike, though it presents no features of actual novelty, furnishes an instructive study to those who wish to understand the ruling principles and practices of the Trade-Unions,

inasmuch as it exhibits them in an unusually clear and naked manner, and free from those accidental questions which occasionally disguise and complicate the real issues. During the discussions of last Session on the Labour-laws there was a general tendency to subordinate practical considerations to a rather sentimental view of the alleged grievances of working-men. Attention was concentrated on the supposed necessity of wording the law so that employers and employed should be placed on exactly the same footing—a good object in itself—and the important fact was overlooked, that working-men have ways of their own which are not the ways of any other class of the community, and are, in fact, distinctly defiant of other people's rights. The stand which is now being made against piecework, not only by a few men at Erith, but, as far as moral and pecuniary support goes, by the whole body of operative engineers in the country, and also by other trades, indicates very plainly the main object which the Trade-Unionists have in view; and the process of picketing, which also may be seen at work at Erith, illustrates in an equally unmistakable way the methods to which they are ready to resort in order to accomplish their purpose. It is here not a question whether working-men shall be compelled to work on terms which, rightly or wrongly, they object to, but whether men who are willing to work on the terms offered shall be allowed to do so. Messrs. Easton and Anderson have announced that they have at present as many hands as they want; but there seems to be no doubt of the fact that men have gone to Erith with the intention of seeking work, and that a good many of them have either been persuaded immediately on their arrival to go away again, or, if they accepted employment, have thrown it up at the end of a day or two. Of course, in so far as this result was produced by pure persuasion, there is nothing to be said against it; but whether it is persuasion—in any honest sense of the word—is just the point of doubt.

Anybody who visits Erith expecting to see the signs of the war now going on there openly displayed will certainly be disappointed. There was indeed an exceptional outbreak on the part of the men on Saturday last, and two cases of assault have since occurred; but in an ordinary way nothing can be more quiet and sleepy than the aspect of the town. The clang of work is still heard at Messrs. Easton and Anderson's factory, and there are no crowds of men out of work filling the streets. There is in fact no stir of any kind. The railway station is approached by a short road which is the private property of the Company, and on Saturday this was invaded by a number of strikers, who, ranging themselves on each side, hooted the "knobsticks," or men at work, as they went to the train to spend their Sunday away from Erith in order to be at peace. Since then a policeman has been stationed in the private road to preserve order, and pickets are not admitted. Immediately outside the entrance to the station is an open space, on one side of which the "Wheatley Arms" is conspicuous, and here the first outpost of the pickets is established. There are two sandwich-men carrying printed placards, on which it is "strongly recommended" that turners, fitters, &c., should not seek work on the terms offered by certain employers. These men walk up and down in the open space between the railway entrance and the public-house, and are attended or supported by some three or four other men, smoking pipes, who act as a sort of skirmishing party, keeping a sharp eye on all arrivals by train, and accosting in a friendly way such as seem to be in search of work. There is certainly nothing up to this point in the conduct of the pickets to give offence. They wish, of course, to conciliate the new-comers, if possible, and indeed a prompt adjournment to the public-house generally follows. In some cases the strangers push on without stopping to speak, but only the more resolute ones resist all parley. If the discussion does not proceed pleasantly, it becomes louder, and an oath or two is perhaps discharged in the rear of an obdurate fellow who will not listen to reason. Between this point and Messrs. Easton and Anderson's works there is another picket stationed about half way, and a third at a short distance from the works. There is no attempt, however, to beset the doors of the factory, nor indeed is there any necessity for doing so, seeing that there is no access to it on any other side. It will be seen that, in a small quiet place like Erith, nothing is easier than to detect strangers and to watch their movements, and obnoxious men are thus placed at a disadvantage. It is understood that the pickets have received special instructions from the officers of the Union to keep within proper limits in challenging new-comers, in order to prevent any prejudice being cast on the movement in which they are engaged. Judging from the look of the picketers themselves, there is certainly nothing very menacing or terrible about them. They have indeed rather a cowed, downcast look, as they shamble about in the cold; and are ordinarily quiet enough in their demeanour. We should not think that any man of ordinary spirit, who simply refused to have anything to do with them, would have anything to fear; but most of the men accosted get into talk, and possibly things may be said quietly which have a strong effect, and the two cases of assault show that some things are also done in the dark. The evil of picketing is that it is a perilous incline, on which it is difficult for men to avoid sliding downwards. It keeps up a perpetual state of irritation and ferment which may at any moment break out into mischief. It is like a pot on the boil which threatens to bubble over. Neither Unionists nor non-Unionists are exempt from the ordinary infirmities of human temper. Hot words are apt to lead to blows, and the parade of pickets leads by natural steps to more direct and violent molestation.

The truth is that picketing, even in its mildest form, amounts to

something more than merely holding aloof. It is distinctly an aggressive act. In any class of life a man may be in want of good advice in regard to his personal conduct, his relations with his family, or other such matters; but if a stranger presumed to stop him in the street, and to sermonize him on his iniquities, and suggest that, if he wished to escape a very bad end, only one course was open to him, which was to take the self-constituted mentor's advice, it would be thought to be a very intolerable impertinence, to say the least of it. Working-men have, no doubt, like other people, a perfect right to make speeches or vote at meetings, to publish articles in newspapers, to circulate hand-bills, or to come to any agreement as to whom they will associate with, or on what terms they may choose to work; but picketing clearly goes beyond this. It involves a personal attack, and implies in an offensive manner a right to scrutinize and criticize another person's behaviour, and to argue with him from a ground of superiority. If the pickets began by politely requesting permission to argue with those whom they take upon themselves to stop in the street, and if the request was granted, that might be very well; but they insist on introducing disagreeable questions, whether their interlocutor likes it or not, and without saying "By your leave." The Ancient Mariner who button-holed the Wedding Guest is perhaps the poetical ideal of a Trade-Unionist picket, and there can be no doubt that it was the weakness of mind of the Guest which gave the Mariner his opportunity. *De minimis non curat lex*; and it cannot be said that the State can undertake to teach manners to working-men. It would be obviously absurd that the law should prohibit one man from saying to another in the street, "Don't put your foot in that hole"; but, on the other hand, there is really a point at which officious advice becomes aggressive and insulting. Where to draw the line between what is allowable and what is not is no doubt difficult, but there are some means of arriving at a conclusion. Take, for instance, this case at Erith. The justification of pickets is that they are intended to give information of value to working-men. So far the "strong recommendation" of the placards not to take work on certain terms is perfectly legitimate, and this might be enlarged upon, with appropriate arguments, in a handbill to be given to any one who chose to take it. But to bring a man whom you don't know to a peremptory halt in the street, and insist on having it out with him, is another thing. It is not to be supposed that any man who goes to Erith to get employment does not know perfectly well what the state of the case is. The matter has been taken up by all the Societies connected with the trade, it has been discussed for years, and every engineer perfectly understands the bearings of the question. It is obvious, therefore, that the picketing must be intended for something more than the giving of information which everybody directly affected by it already possesses. Any man may have a right to feel contempt and dislike for other people who will not do what he wants them to do; but the right to cherish this feeling privately is very different from a right to express it by an organized demonstration in an offensive and threatening sense. And this is what picketing does. To resolve to have nothing more to do with a man who acts in a certain way is one thing, but to take continual opportunities of going up to him in the street, and publicly remonstrating with him and blackguarding him is something very different.

This question of picketing, like that of piece-work, was very fully inquired into by the Trade-Unions Commissioners, and on the evidence before them, given in a great measure by enthusiastic supporters of the Unions, they came to the following conclusions:—"It is alleged that instructions are given to the pickets to confine themselves to a mere representation of the case of the Union promoting the strike, and to use argument and persuasion only, without resorting to violence, intimidation, or undue coercion. But, although such instructions may be given, it is hardly in human nature that the pickets, who are interested parties, and who are suffering the privations incident to the strike, should always keep within the fair limits of representation and persuasion when dealing with men whom they see about to undertake the work which they have refused, and who may thus render the strike abortive. Accordingly, experience shows, and the evidence before us leaves no doubt on our minds, that during the existence of a strike, workmen desirous to accept work are often subjected, through the agency of the pickets, to molestation, intimidation, and other modes of undue influence, and in effect are prevented from obtaining employment." The Commissioners further remark that, "So far as relates to members of the Union promoting the strike, the pickets cannot be necessary if the members are voluntarily concurring therein; so far as relates to the men who are not members of the Union, picketing implies in principle an interference with their right to dispose of their labour as they think fit, and it is therefore without justification; and, so far as relates to the employer, it is a violation of his right of free resort to the labour market for the supply of such labour as he requires." The outbreaks of violence into which the men at Erith have already been tempted are a significant illustration of the dangers of the system of picketing. At ordinary times the picketing may be mild enough, and of course there can be no harm in two workmen who are willing to argue with each other discussing the pros and cons of a question. But to call upon a man to "stand and deliver" his opinions on the highway, whether he likes it or not, smacks a little too much of a once familiar crime. The pickets may, in the beginning, mean to be extremely civil, and only philosophically

argumentative; but their vocabulary is limited, and fervent feeling is a swift road to bad language. Even philosophers are not exempt from this temptation, and working-men are apt to consider expletives in the light of conclusive logic. A French writer who had been attacked by a rival on a question of grammar, remarked that he had been called a brigand and assassin, but that only meant that his friend did not agree with him. So, when a Unionist calls a non-Unionist by any of the ugly names which have been provided for the purpose, he perhaps means to express nothing more than a strong difference of opinion; but when such words are used, not in a treatise to be studied quietly in a library, but in the street, face to face with the person assailed, awkward consequences are apt to ensue. Therefore, if the Unionists really do not wish for a row in the streets, they will do well to withdraw their pickets at Erith. What has already happened may happen again, and perhaps in a more serious form. The new Act provides that "attending at or near the house or place where a person resides, or works, or carries on business, or happens to be, or the approach to such house or place, in order merely to obtain or communicate information, shall not be deemed a watching or besetting within the meaning of the section" in regard to intimidation; but hooting and crying bad names is evidently not a legitimate way either of obtaining or communicating information.

LAW FOR LADIES.

THE husband had by the common law power and dominion over his wife, and might keep her by force within the bounds of duty, and might beat her, but not in a violent or cruel manner; for in such case, or if he did but threaten to beat her outrageously or use her barbarously, she might bind him to the peace by application to Chancery or to the Court of King's Bench or to a magistrate, or might apply to the Spiritual Court for a separation. Lady Vane's case is commonly referred to as one in which the law took the lady's side. She exhibited articles of the peace against her husband, charging that she was separated from him by arrangement; that she was seized by his servants and carried to his house, and confined eleven days; that she escaped, and that she had heard and believed that a servant said he was ordered by her lord to bring her alive or dead, and therefore she swore her life was in danger. Lord Vane moved, by counsel, to discharge these articles, and urged that, although application had been allowed to Chancery for protection of the wife against her husband's cruelty, and to compel him to find sureties that he did not beat or evil treat her, yet there was always a proviso "aliter quam ad virum suum, ex causa regiminis et castigationis uxoris sue, licite rationabiliter pertinet." The Court, however, thought that Lady Vane had reasonable foundation to require sureties of the peace against her husband. In the case of Mrs. Cochrane, a judgment was delivered by Sir John Coleridge which deserves attention. That lady had been induced by stratagem to come to her husband's lodgings, and had been there confined by him until he was compelled by Habeas Corpus to bring her into the Court of Queen's Bench. The question then arose whether he had assigned an adequate cause for detaining her, and the Court said that our law, although expressed in terms simple almost to rudeness, proceeds on a broad and comprehensive principle. It has respect to the terms of the marriage contract, and to the infirmity of the sex. For the happiness and the honour of both parties, it places the wife under the guardianship of the husband, and entitles him, for the sake of both, to protect her from the danger of unrestrained intercourse with the world by enforcing cohabitation and a common residence. Mrs. Cochrane had lived apart from her husband for nearly four years, without loss of character; but her husband, with the highest opinion of her virtue, might yet be excused, even by her, if he felt uneasy when he learned that she had gone to masked balls at Paris with persons whom he did not know. He might well be desirous, and he had a right, to restrain her from frequenting such amusements unprotected by his presence and without his permission. She too, though she might feel secure, was not therefore the more safe at such places; and at any rate she had not the right to bring his honour or her own into possible or even imagined jeopardy. It had been urged that a refusal to discharge Mrs. Cochrane would be to sentence her to perpetual imprisonment; but she could not properly complain of the existing state of things, for it arose from her own breach of duty, and she might end it whenever she could resolve to perform the contract she had entered into. The moment that she should make restraint of her person unnecessary for keeping her in the path of duty it would become illegal, and nothing that had been said would prevent her from coming to the Court for protection. She must be restored to her husband.

But although the law exacts thus much from the wife, it also requires a good deal from the husband. Not only may she exhibit articles of the peace against him, but in a proper case she may make him liable for her costs of the proceedings, as she also may when she sues, on reasonable ground, for a divorce. A suit under such circumstances would be necessary and fit for the wife's protection, and she would be authorized to employ a solicitor, and her husband would be liable to pay the bill. If, indeed, a wife were to indict her husband for assault, he would not be liable for the cost of the prosecution, because that is not a proceeding for her protection, but for the punishment of the husband. But a divorce on the

ground of cruelty would be a proceeding for her protection; and, as she has no property of her own, she could have no redress unless she were able to pledge her husband's credit. Another of her privileges is that she shall not be punished for committing a theft in company with her husband. And she shall not be deemed accessory to a felony for receiving her husband, who has been guilty of it. On the other hand, while imprisonment for debt existed, she was liable to it. In an action for assault committed by the wife, both husband and wife might be taken in execution, and this perhaps was just. If she were taken in execution, together with her husband, for a debt due from her before marriage, she was not entitled to be discharged unless it appeared that she had no separate property, even although her husband had been discharged under an Insolvent Act. It is lamentable to observe that in this respect we have degenerated from the courtesy of our ancestors. Blackstone says that, if judgment be recovered against husband and wife for the contract, or even for the personal misbehaviour of the wife during her coverture, the capias shall issue against the husband only, "which is one of the many great privileges of English wives." But this privilege, if it ever existed, had certainly disappeared before imprisonment for debt was abolished. It was undoubtedly law that the wife might be taken, and that it was discretionary with the Court to relieve her; and we find judges objecting to exercise this discretion, and protesting that they saw no reason for depriving a plaintiff of any part of his legal right. They admitted indeed that, if a wife were arrested by collusion between her husband and the plaintiff, they ought to interfere.

These were some of the privileges of women under the common law. But the passing of the Divorce Act has made some manifest changes, of which all the consequences have not perhaps yet appeared. An attempt has been lately made to found on this Act a right in a divorced woman to sue her late husband for damages for assault, or other personal injury, committed on her during marriage. If such right exists, there must be a corresponding right in the man to sue his late wife, and it would seem that that right might extend to give him compensation even for an injury which had been the ground of divorce. In the case which came lately before the Queen's Bench Division of the Supreme Court, the divorce had been obtained by the wife; but, in this respect, the husband's divorce ought to have the same effect. It would not, however, have occurred to a person of ordinary intelligence to deduce from the Act any such right on either side; but then it must be allowed that many decisions of our Courts exhibit excessive ingenuity. The difficulty of this question is not diminished by recent legislation, and when a learned Judge refers to the ancient maxim that husband and wife are one person, we might ask whether this is not one of those rules of law which equity has superseded. The Court of Chancery always recognized the separate existence of the wife; and even if it be doubtful whether husband and wife are two or one, it seems at least certain that they cannot be both two and one. Even if it be correct to limit this doctrine of unity to property, we must remember that it has been infringed by the Legislature as well as by the Court of Chancery. Under the Married Women's Property Act of 1870 courts of law were bound to recognize separate property in married women, and for one purpose, as we have already seen, they recognized it forty or more years ago. When a married woman was taken in execution and applied to be discharged, the Court inquired whether she had any separate property, and if she had it kept her in custody in order to squeeze out of it satisfaction to the plaintiff. An attempt was made a few years ago to sue man after divorce for an assault committed by his wife on a third person during the marriage. For any wrong committed by the wife she was always liable, and her husband could not be sued without her, neither could she be sued without joining her husband. When the husband was thus joined "for conformity," as the lawyers said, if he died the action went on against the wife; but if the wife died the action abated. It is clear, therefore, that there was no cause of action against the husband. He was not liable for the wrong, but was joined only by reason of the universal rule that the wife during coverture could not be either sole plaintiff or sole defendant. Thus far the law was unquestionable, and it followed that the action could not be maintained against the late husband after divorce. This decision seems entirely satisfactory; but we fail to see how it helps the lady in the present case. Suppose that an assault was committed on the wife, and immediately afterwards her husband died, it may be admitted that she could sue for this assault. Then suppose that the marriage was dissolved not by death, but by a decree of a Court, the same consequence would follow. This seems to be the strongest way in which the lady's argument could be put; but there is still a wide difference between suing a third person and suing her late husband. It may be assumed, with some confidence, that the authors of the Divorce Act did not contemplate the result which this lady's counsel attempted to draw from it. The Court is undoubtedly required to look at the conduct of both parties. It would not of course follow merely because cruelty was one of the grounds of divorce that compensation for that cruelty was necessarily taken away. A man may be punished for felony or misdemeanour, and still remain liable to an action for damages for the very act for which he has been punished. But still we may venture to say, with some approach to certainty, that Parliament when it gave to a Court the power of divorce, did not intend that actions and cross-actions should be brought between the late husband and wife in respect of their conduct during marriage. But although you might feel tolerably sure of this

when first the question was presented to your mind, you might be a good deal shaken after listening for half a day to arguments in which the old common law, the doctrines and practice of Courts of Equity, the criminal law, and the Married Women's Property Act were all jumbled up together. The Judges, with much doubt and difficulty, decided against the lady's claim, and we cannot help thinking that the case shows an almost hopeless confusion in a branch of law which concerns everyday life. Any so-called amending Act would probably make confusion worse confounded.

REVIEWS.

BELLEW'S KASHMIR AND KASHGHAR.*

DR. BELLEW is already favourably known to the public as the author of two works regarding countries that lie far away from the common route of tourists or Anglo-Indian officials. In 1857 he was attached to the Kandahar mission, of which Major-General H. B. Lumsden was the political chief; and, after helping to keep up our national credit at Kabul during the anxious period of the Mutiny, he published a journal which added considerably to our knowledge of Afghanistan. In 1875 we reviewed his volume entitled *From the Indus to the Tigris*, pregnant with facts accumulated by him when accompanying Sir F. Pollock on his deputation for the settlement of the boundary of Persia and Seistan. Dr. Bellew did not form part of the first expedition, headed by Sir Douglas Forsyth, to the capital of the energetic ruler who is now widely known as the Atalik Ghazi. But when Lord Northbrook, in 1873, following out the policy of Lord Mayo, determined on again sending a larger and better equipped party to Yarkand and Kashgar, Dr. Bellew joined the mission as its medical chief. When we add that, besides experience gained in his own profession, he is a naturalist and a botanist, and that he has a good knowledge of several Oriental languages, our readers may easily believe that the record of his adventures must possess matter of interest for more than one class. We do not forget that Sir D. Forsyth's first mission, if it had no other tangible result, produced a book from the pen of Dr. Henderson, who then filled Dr. Bellew's post. But on the former occasion Sir D. Forsyth never got a glimpse of the Atalik at all, and was either not allowed or did not find it possible to remain more than thirteen days at Yarkand. The whole trip was then comprised in some five months. Dr. Bellew and his party left the hill station of Murree in the Punjab on the 19th of July, 1873, and did not get back to that place until the 12th of the same month in the year following. Without instituting unfavourable comparisons, we may say that, while fully bearing out everything written by his predecessor as to the difficulties of the route, Dr. Bellew has traversed larger tracts of the country, mixed more with its inhabitants, eaten more copiously of the native dishes, with which all the members of the mission were literally飽fed at every visit, and has given us a graphic picture of native society under the rule of a capable, earnest, but severe religious disciplinarian. Dr. Bellew's work may be divided into three main portions, with a few episodes or appendices. Four chapters are taken up with Kashmir and Leh. Two more are occupied with the transit over the passes to Sanju and Yarkand. And the remainder of the work is devoted to an account of Yarkand, Kashgar, and as much of the interior as the officers of the mission could see. The return journey is wisely compressed into a single and a concluding chapter. The style throughout is easy, flowing, and animated, the anecdotes are well selected, and the criticisms err neither from severity nor favour. But there are two sad deficiencies. There is no index and no map. The omission of the first might have been condoned. The failure to give a map showing the passes and the routes taken by different portions of the mission is almost unpardonable. The pleasure of reading the narrative is marred by inability to see where the travellers shivered under twenty degrees of frost, or where they hailed the return to vegetable and animal life in the valleys.

We have so recently reviewed Mr. Wilson's *Abode of Snow* and Mr. Drew's *Jummoo and Kashmir* at some length, that we may pass lightly over the chapters in which Dr. Bellew describes this latter principality. His accounts of the vegetation; of the lakes, with their floating gardens, composed of material which supports breadths of melons and pumpkins in clusters, but engulfs heavy men; of the bridges at Srinuggur, which remind us of old Italian cities; and of the fruits, crops, manners, and scenery, have the merit of accuracy, if not of novelty; and we cordially endorse his remarks as to the character of the Kashmirian Government, and the loyalty and courtesy shown by the Maharaja of Jummoo. Nothing is more impolitic and discreditable than the style of letters which every now and then are allowed to appear in some of the Indian journals, written by some exasperated subaltern who shrieks for "annexation" because three of his porters have loitered behind and lost a package, or because he has had to pay a good price for supplies in a country swept by tourists. The Maharaja is evidently alive to reforms, and anxious to help local resources, and he has lately set up a silk filature on the Bengal system, at the head of which he has placed a Bengali Baboo. This gentleman's title or *gens*, by the way, may be either Day or Mukarji, but it cannot

* *Kashmir and Kashgar: a Narrative of the Journey of the Embassy to Kashgar in 1873-74.* By H. W. Bellew, C.S.I., Surgeon-Major, Bengal Staff Corps. London: Trübner & Co. 1875.

possibly be both, as Dr. Bellew appears to write it. The latter word implies that this superintendent is a Kulin Brahman from the Lower Provinces, and we are certain that he is far better employed in stimulating a rising and indigenous industry than in drawing the vapouring comparisons between English and Hindu civilization which several of his countrymen have lately given in pretentious letters to the *Times*.

Dr. Bellew's own camp required no less than 103 mules, nearly as many camp followers, 87 ponies, and two or three score of coolies. The number, for the whole expedition, was far in excess of this amount, and then there was an ample store of warm clothing, mattresses, wraps, and provisions packed in tin. The walnuts and apricots, and the comfortable homesteads of the Kashmirian peasantry were soon left behind, and exchanged—first, for birch and willow; then, for juniper; and, finally, for hills of a "dreary, bare, and treeless aspect." The air was dry and light, but the sun's rays had lost none of their power; and headaches and feverish attacks were not uncommon, followed by giddiness, fainting, and an intense feeling of discomfort as heights of 12,000 and 15,000 feet were reached. Once they paid a visit to a Buddhist monastery, where, amidst dismal defiles closed up by drifting snow in the winter, the monks live monotonous, useless, and, the author adds, "disreputable" lives. Their religious ceremonies consist in the vain repetitions and the worship of images with which we were first familiarized by M. Huc. Occasionally the mission had to march or encamp in ceaseless drizzle, or surrounded by a mist worthy of the Scotch Highlands. Avalanches of stone, set in motion by the rain, by melting snow, or even by the footsteps of the wild sheep, startled the travellers, who learnt to camp in the friendly shelter of a rock; and if they escaped being crushed by huge masses, they had occasionally to dodge loose rolling stones. The tops of the passes were ghastly with the skeletons of men and animals in every stage of decay, or rather of desiccation. The icy wind would have chilled the bones and marrow were it not for the ample supplies of clothing; but snow-blindness affected the camp followers, and cattle and ponies floundered over glaciers, got rid of their burdens, and were now and then left behind to die. Dr. Bellew found a pinch of salt and some drachms of chlorate of potash the best remedy against the suffocation produced by the rarefied air. No wonder that an Afghan mule-driver cursed the climate as that of a "God-forsaken country," and wondered what the *Sahibs* wanted with a land made up of such miserable mounds of gravel and slate. Wild animals and birds fared little better than the coolies. In one place two snipe were picked up, frozen to death, and a landrail was caught in a state of exhaustion close to the camp fire, and, we much fear, was not revived, but immolated in the interests of science for a museum. The mercury showed fifty-six degrees of frost, or twenty-four degrees below zero, at Actagh, and the passage of some rivers was perilous from masses of floating ice. To add to their difficulties, fuel and fodder, and even victuals, ran short on this side of the Sanju Pass; and at one difficult ascent they had actually to adopt the practice of the Alpine Club, and cut holes in the ice with pickaxes, into which, when lined with felt and blankets, the wretched cattle were made to plant their feet. After this, we are not surprised to hear, later on, of a Punjabi Sikh who came to the author for medical aid with his toes frost-bitten and sticking to the inside of his huge boot; of some Turkish officers from Constantinople who were benumbed and famished, uttering cries of "Ya Allah" with characteristic helplessness; or of the death of Dr. Stoliczka on the return journey, whose constitution evidently could not stand the trial of a plateau 17,500 feet above the sea level. It is satisfactory, however, to find that the travellers crossed the passes, accomplished the descent, and reached Sanju in safety; nor is it wonderful to find the author, after this severe test of his physical powers, heading a fresh chapter with the announcement that "Sanju is a delightful place."

The description of this city, as well as of Yarkand and Kashgar, their ruins, bazaars, traffic, and institutions, dress, manners, and morals, is extremely well done. We have only room for a few details, and we refer our readers, for a long history of this principality, to Dr. Bellew. In the middle of the last century the Chinese supplanted the weak and divided Government of the Mussulmans, and very recently they had in their turn to yield to the vigour and capacity of the present ruler, Yakub Khushbegi, who has hitherto disappointed the predictions of his critics and defied the assaults of his foes. We are constrained to say that his rule, as disclosed in these pages, is one of severity and asceticism. We do not hear of any vestiges of the cruelties of which M. Vambery was an eye-witness at Bokhara, nor is there any hatred of the Christian white face. Crimes of violence have been put down. No insults, save on one very exceptional occasion, were offered to the members of the mission. The bazaars of Yarkand were fairly thronged and flourishing. Nearly thirty colleges were counted, frequented by students of the orthodox Mahomedan schools. There were infant schools in addition to these higher establishments. Gamblers and idlers, and shopkeepers with false weights and adulterated goods, had a bad time of it under the inspection of a dignitary who was at once head policeman, sitting magistrate, and inspector of nuisances, and who administered the strap with prompt and wholesome severity to women who neglected to veil themselves, and to bakers whose flour was mixed with earth. But the population were unnerved by the strictness and intolerance of their ruler; the bazaars appeared less redundant with active life than those of Benares, Lahore, or Delhi; one special industry of jade has been stifled; mines are no longer

worked as they were by the Chinese, and the impression left on Dr. Bellew is that the inhabitants, though not actively disaffected, are gloomy, spiritless, reserved, and suspicious. But there are lighter touches in the narrative to relieve this dark colouring. The institution of the *dastarkhwan* is peculiar and universal. Literally, not metaphorically as put by Dr. Bellew, it signifies "table cloth." Practically, it is an array of trays, produced by the host for his guests, and laden with all the ingredients of a solid and elegant repast. Dr. Henderson, in his account of Kashgar, noticed that the native order of the courses is exactly the reverse of ours. Dr. Bellew, without dwelling on this point, writes of ragouts and *pilao*; bread of various sorts; the soup, termed *ash*; sweet dishes in abundance; a marmalade of carrots in syrup, though this confection may, we believe, be easily eaten without going to Central Asia; pounded white sugar with egg-flip; a kind of fruit called "ice-apple," from its semi-transparency; cakes simply made of dough and fat; pasties cooked by steam; the *zan-bosa*, or lady's kiss, a delicate kind of cake; pies of jam and meat, and even mince-pies. The defect of the cookery was its greasiness, and the author admits that they began to loathe the sight of these eternal tea-trays, as no party, whether of business or pleasure, was free from such intrusion. Not only at ceremonial visits, but on excursions to ruins, to burial places of Mahomedan saints, or to the shops and the bazaars, they were pursued by attendants, and compelled to eat, out of sheer civility. The water supply was exactly what might be expected under native rule. Wells were thought unwholesome even by the natives themselves, but how the open reservoirs could supply better water it is not very easy to see. These spaces received the foliage of willows and poplars, contributions of dust and filth, and a man might be seen filling his gourd with water for domestic purposes on one side of a reservoir, while a woman was washing her dirty linen on the other. All this, and a great deal more, is well described in the volume. One more peculiarity of the country we must notice. Besides great extremities of heat and cold, the glass in the plains remaining during winter at three or four degrees below freezing point, towns and villages are exposed to be overwhelmed by moving sands, which ordinarily advance in long ridges at a slow pace, but every now and then take rapid strides and subject mosques and dwelling-places to the fate of Pompeii. For the physical causes which produce these disagreeable results we must refer our readers to the author's pages.

The suggestive facts collected by Dr. Bellew derive additional significance from his cautious opinions. The mission of which he formed part was depicted with the avowed intention of concluding a commercial treaty with the ruler of Yarkand, and of giving a fresh impulse to the enterprise and energies of British merchants, who, we are often told, only want fair play, and the moral and material support of the Indian Government, in order to inspire Yarkandis and Kashgaris with a taste for Indian articles of commerce, and to beat Russia quite out of the field. Those who weigh the difficulties encountered by a highly-equipped and well-organized party in crossing the Khardong, Karakoram, and Sanju Passes, may be able to calculate the chances of commercial ventures attempted by Afghans, Kashmiris, or Englishmen, with limited resources. Macaulay once said that there were few spectacles so ridiculous as that of the British public in one of its periodical fits of morality. We may say that this absurdity is matched or surpassed by the spectacle of certain journalists and speculators in one of their periodical fits of enthusiasm about the splendid openings for commerce *supra Garamantus et Indos*. For political reasons it is right to cultivate friendly relations with Yarkand. For our national credit it may be desirable that no dark or dismal corner of the universe should be unvisited by Englishmen. But Dr. Bellew, whether he intended it or not, has certainly exploded one Central-Asian delusion. We are aware that Sir Douglas Forsyth, on the other hand, has pointed out the possibility of another line, which he calls the Kogyar, which will shorten the journey by three days, and will avoid the Suget and Sanju Passes. This may be the case; but, if so, it is unexplained why this route was not attempted long ago. As the case now stands, to expect a vast increase to the transport of Indian products over the horrible route described in these pages is to expect that our Arctic discoverers, when they return in safety or triumph, will have exhumed an Hyperborean race in the Polar regions, whose lucrative traffic is to repay the cost of the expedition, and to quicken the industries of our great manufacturing towns.

MAXWELL LYTE'S HISTORY OF ETON COLLEGE.*

M R. MAXWELL LYTE'S work differs in plan from any historical account of Eton or its institutions that has yet appeared, and differs exceedingly both in matter and manner from two very superficial books concerned with Eton which we had the misfortune to review some weeks ago. We have here for the first time a continuous history of Eton College by a man who has had access to the right authorities, both documentary and oral, and has known how to make a right use of them. For the early part of the book Mr. Maxwell Lyte has been able to consult the MS. records in the College Library, which had hitherto remained untouched; and, by the way, we cannot help expressing a wish, which we believe is generally felt, that this library should be made rather more accessible than it is at present. For the

* *A History of Eton College, 1440-1875.* By H. C. Maxwell Lyte, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1875.

recent period of Eton history which may be said to begin with Keate's headmastership, and is fairly within the memory of living men, Mr. Maxwell Lyte has been in communication with those who have the best means of knowledge, at Eton and elsewhere. Besides these advantages, he has brought to the task on his own part that scholarship and love of letters which are useful in such a case for turning to the best account even those materials which are open to all the world. The result is a book of more complete and authentic character than any which have gone before it, and one which may assume the rank of standard authority, not merely because there is nothing else to compete with it, as is too often the case, but in right of its own just merits.

All public schoolmen know how difficult it is to keep oneself accurately informed of the actual state of things, and the minuter changes made from time to time, even at one's own school; and this is especially true of Eton, where in the course of the last generation changes have been extensive and rapid. Here the inaccuracies of detail are wonderfully few. Noting the first occasion on which the collegiate church of Eton is called a chapel—namely, in 1621—Mr. Maxwell Lyte says that "the older and more correct designation was not unfrequently used in common parlance till about fifty years ago." This is an under-statement. Within the last fifteen years "church" was at least as common as "chapel," except in speaking of the actual fabric; and in some phrases, if we remember right, "chapel" would have been a solecism. Nor are we prepared to allow, what is implied in another passage, that the name *Timbrells* is quite obsolete. In the last chapter there is a slight mistake as to the rifle corps, which on its first formation was a cadet battalion entirely officered by the boys themselves, and underwent sundry vicissitudes before it was converted into a small effective corps with masters for its commissioned officers.

But the distinguishing character and excellence of this book are to be chiefly sought in the early chapters. The modern history, or most of it, may be found elsewhere with more or less trouble; the earlier history, practically, not at all. Our author's clear and interesting account of the eventful first century of the life of Henry VI.'s foundation should meet with equal gratitude from Etonians, whether students of English institutions or not, and from students of English institutions, whether Etonians or not; not that the study of English institutions can justly be a matter of indifference to any English citizen, much less to any who have special associations with one that is ancient, renowned, and peculiarly national. One of the most striking things about the infancy of the College is the munificent, not to say lavish, outfit of ecclesiastical privileges and protection with which it started. Not only certain specific benefits were assured by sundry Papal Bulls to penitents resorting to Eton on the Feast of the Assumption (the College being dedicated to "Our Lady of Eton beside Windsor"), but the Provost received a standing power to grant indulgences to a considerable extent at this and certain other seasons. It was no doubt expected that the offerings of penitents attracted by these indulgences would be a material source of revenue; and in fact strangers did for some time appear in great numbers, but the cost of entertaining them was found to exceed the amount of their offerings. Mr. Maxwell Lyte's information on the original designs for the buildings, and especially the Church, of which last the plan was more than once changed in the founder's lifetime, and has remained unfinished, is very full and interesting. Not only the completion of the founder's schemes, but the very existence of his foundation, was in sore peril during the troubled times that followed the close of his reign. In 1463 all the preparations had been made for a complete suppression, even to procuring the Papal sanction. The details of this, "the most obscure as well as the most melancholy page in the history of Eton," cannot be filled up; however, the scheme was dropped, and Eton, though impoverished, survived this and other dangers of its early days. One feels a special grudge at Henry VIII. for a practically compulsory exchange of which we presently read, whereby the College parted with a considerable estate in what is now a central part of London, between Charing Cross and Hay Hill. The end of what may be considered the first period is marked by a descriptive chapter, founded on the *Consuetudinarium*, and showing the manner of life at Eton in the sixteenth century. Here and elsewhere Mr. Maxwell Lyte is something of an optimist in matters of education. He says "it is clear that Latin was almost the only subject of study"—and this, no doubt, was so—"and that no means of inculcating a sound knowledge of it was neglected." This must be taken at least with reference to the means known and customary at the time, for there is one way of imparting a sound knowledge of Latin or Greek—namely, to teach it from the beginning in a rational manner—which has been all but universally neglected down to the present time, and on this point we cannot claim for Eton the foremost place in improvement. The old official grammars lingered on in school long after they had become hopelessly obsolete in the "private business" of the tutors; and in the later pages of this book we find a man of Hawtrey's taste and refinement so imbued with them as to cling to the inexpressibly senseless rules of the Eton Grammar for the formation of tenses. Even that most perverse infliction on boys and men known as the *As in praesenti* is spoken of by Mr. Maxwell Lyte with a certain tender respect. The institution of school plays, both Latin and English, was in full force in the sixteenth century at Eton. There has been no continuation of this corresponding to the present Westminster play. "Speeches" are probably a distinct invention of modern times:

nor can they be said to go far towards supplying the want of such training in elocution as the plays, if pretty frequent and tolerably well superintended, must have afforded. The value of money about this time is curiously illustrated by the quarterly bill of an oppidan, undated, but belonging to the earlier part of Mary's reign, and amounting to 16s. 7d.; and by the fact that in 1561 ten pounds was thought a proper, or at least not an illusory, compensation for a Provost who had been elected against the wishes of the Crown, when he was shortly afterwards compelled to resign. The quartering of the French Ambassador and his following on the College at a time when he was detained in a sort of honourable custody led to grave inconveniences, though the Provost's formal complaint of them is somewhat ludicrous:—

"7. Item wheras their kichen ys under the ushers chambre they have sundry tymes thrust upp spittes in such places as the bordes be not close joyned and also discharged their dagges appon other places of the sayd bordes to the great daunger of thos that be above, but wth of them did it yt cannot well be known because they that be above cannot see them that be beneath, save that the first of Januarie about three of the clock at afternoone on of them was seen thrust upp a spitt wherwth hee had almost hitt a little boy that was in the chambre, and he that did this was in a graye fryse coate or jerkyn and therby it is thought to be Eustace the boye of the buttire, for none other in the house hath at anie tyme worn graye fryse but he only.

"8. Item. they have used to molest the sayd usher by immoderate noyse at unseasonable tymes of the night, and this was don by them wth lie nigh the Buttire and Kytchen, and the like noyse hath ben made by them that lyse on the other syde towards the Colledge wherof complaynt hath ben made to me by the fellowes of the house dyverse tymes.

"11. Item. the laste of Decembre the lackye wth others whose names I cannot learne, spoyled a great manie of the Colledge bricks lying on the back side of ther kytchin wth they threw at the Schollers as they passed betwen the Schole and the fields, fyve of the sayd Schollers came to me the same day to complaynt and brought of the bricks wth them wth were thrown."

The gist of the offence in the last paragraph seems to be the spoiling of the bricks rather than the assault on the scholars.

The second period of Eton may be fixed as ending with Keate's headmastership; and Mr. Maxwell Lyte gives us an account of Eton habits under George III., which may be taken as representing almost the whole of this period, from a private contemporary document. Most of the arrangements here described have existed or left traces in our own time. We could mention some examples, not without their curiosity, of developments and rudimentary survivals, but Etonians will readily find them in the book, and it would require long explanations to make them generally intelligible. The book supplies us with one instance of a kind of migration of fables or anecdotes which is common enough, but has not to our knowledge been much noticed; we mean the appropriation of an old story to a younger generation by inserting contemporary names. Here is Mr. Maxwell Lyte's story of Major Hexter, the writing-master:—

He once made a formal complaint that his authority was despised, and requested the Provost's permission to wear a gown like the other masters. "By all means," replied Dr. Goodall, blandly: "you can do as you like." "And then, of course, the boys will touch their hats to me, and shirk me?" "As to that, Major Hexter, they must do as *they* like."

In the present writer's time this identical story was current at Eton, with the substitution, much to the loss of its point and probability, of living names. It would be rash, of course, to conjecture from this that it may be altogether mythical; yet one's historical faith is disturbed by such easy transformation. There is another story of a reply of Goodall to William IV. on one of his visits to Eton which we make no scruple of extracting simply for its own sake:—

On the second of these visits, in 1832 to wit, he promised the reversion of the Provostship to Dr. Keate in a strange way. Pointing to Dr. Goodall he said, "When he goes I'll make you him." Dr. Keate was wisely silent, but the Provost, who was first a gentleman and then a courtier, said with one of his most gracious bows: "Sire, I could never think of going before your Majesty." Some years later he was asked whether he had really used these words, and he replied, "Yes, and I meant to show the King how rude he was."

We may dismiss the third or modern period, from Keate to the present day, with brief notice, not for any decline of actual interest, but because Mr. Maxwell Lyte is here dealing with what is comparatively matter of common knowledge. The foundation of the Newcastle Scholarship is duly chronicled; but we see no mention of the celebrated answer of the late Vice-Chancellor Wickens on being asked to name the three Graces—"Grace before meat, grace after meat, and His Grace the Duke of Newcastle." A full description is given in a separate chapter of the rise, flourishing, and fall of Eton Montem, which may be read with interest by all, and with profit by those whose early knowledge of Montem may have been derived from a certain not very accurate little piece of Miss Edgeworth's. Montem died hard, and in some ways regretted even by those who condemned it; but "a custom for young noblemen and gentlemen to go about the country as sturdy beggars obtaining money from passengers," as Lord Denman called it in his letter to the Provost on the subject, could obviously be no longer sustained. Of the later changes in Eton government and studies Mr. Maxwell Lyte speaks in a rather conservative tone, but without partisanship; though it is a little irrelevant to say that certain improvements, which were in fact important, but almost all improvements in discipline, "were not sufficient to bring the school up to the ideal standard of educational reformers." We must give a final word of praise to the manner in which the book is produced, and to the careful and faithful local illustrations; suggesting, however, that the index might well be made fuller. In a book of this kind the index, though not a vital point, is a material one.

SICILIAN POPULAR POETRY.*

FROM the earliest times, say the Sicilians, their isle has been, like Prospero's, full of "sounds and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not." Passing from one set of rulers to another, it has often changed its political allegiance, but never has it been known to prove unfaithful to its ancient love for song. To this day are kept up with unflagging spirit the poetic contests in which the islanders delighted ages ago, and the Sicilian subjects of Victor Emmanuel are probably as capable of fluent improvisation as ever were their most tuneful ancestors. Thus, on the 24th of every June, a great gathering takes place at S. Giovanni di Galermo. Thousands of spectators come together from the neighbourhood, the patron saint goes forth in state at noon, and is solemnly deposited in the place of honour, doubtless occupied in Pagan times by the local divinity whom he has succeeded; and, one after another, from among the common people, step forward poets eager to sing his praises. A spectator of one of these contests, a few years ago, speaks in high terms of the facility with which the competing minstrels improvised, and of the intelligent endurance with which their audience listened. There were four competitors, three of whom adopted the Sicilian *ottava*, and the fourth the *sextina*, and there were thousands of hearers, who for a couple of hours bore the virulence of the sun at its hottest rather than lose the delight of listening to the strains of a juvenile farrier, two farmers, and a shoemaker. Nor is the spot we have mentioned unusually rich in local poets. All over the island, among the artisans in the cities, the fishermen along the coasts, the husbandmen on the slopes of Etna, humble bards are to be found in numbers, many of them totally unlettered. One of the best of those now living is a blacksmith, Stefano la Sala, honourably known as "the Ariosto of the rustics." No higher in social rank stood the famous Pietro Fullone, stonemason and sailor of Palermo, where he died in 1670, whom Meli places on Parnassus along with Virgil, Dante, Petrarch, and the other great Italian poets. But some of the musical echoes which ring in the plebeian ears of Sicily are due, it must be admitted, to more patrician lyres. Ideas and expressions of literary origin there, as elsewhere, have been preserved by oral tradition, and made the property of the people, although they cannot be styled popular in the scientific sense of the word. Some of these authors are utterly forgotten. Of others the memory remains dear to the Sicilian mind, as does that of Antonio Veneziano—jurist, antiquary, and song-writer—a prophet who had such honour in his own country that he was ransomed from Algerine slavery at the expense of the city of Palermo, where the day of his return home was celebrated as one of public rejoicing. Sad to say, he was afterwards imprisoned by the Inquisition, and while in confinement was killed by an explosion at Castellamare in 1593—to the great grief of his friend Torquato Tasso, who was on his way to visit him when he was stopped by the news of the catastrophe. Of certain kinds of popular poetry the blind are in Sicily, as in other countries, conscientious preservers, sightless rhapsodists wandering about in numbers from one sacred place to another, and in all gatherings of the people singing the praises of the Saints or of Fra Diavolo. At Palermo, indeed, a troop of such blind minstrels as these formed a licensed Congregation, having obtained a charter in 1661, and being allotted quarters, in 1690, within the walls of the Society of Jesus. On the temporary suppression of the Order the blind men were turned out, and on its restoration in 1806 their income was seized by their late hosts, with whom they battled stoutly for years, jealously guarding their papers in an iron safe under three keys. Eventually, when the Jesuits fell, their fall was shared by the Congregation of the Blind, deserving as it was of a better fate.

Of the rich fields of Sicilian popular poetry Signor Lionardo Vigo was one of the earliest explorers. More than half a century ago he began to publish the songs in which his childhood had delighted, and which, as soon as he grew to man's estate, he set himself eagerly to collect. Like a bee craving after honey, he says, he haunted the pastures in which these wild flowers of poesy were to be found; he even ransacked the remotest valleys and scaled the loftiest heights, everywhere drawing from the lips of old and young the luscious nectar of Sicilian song. Nor, after he had left his quiet home for the busy haunts of men, did he prove unfaithful to his early love; but, laughed at as he was by doctors, notaries, clergymen, and other scoffers of a similar nature, he occupied himself year after year in song-hunting during the autumnal *vileggatura*, when recalled from college or University to the paternal roof. At first he published the results of his researches in periodicals, but in 1833, finding them little appreciated, he ceased to do so. In 1857 appeared his first large collection, a goodly volume, though somewhat "hacked by the scissors of the cut-thoughts." Recently he has republished it, amplified and rearranged, and rejoicing in "the fullest liberty and independence, both political and religious." The veteran editor will now, he says, leave the field open to other collectors, but he reserves to himself the right of publishing the works of Pietro Fullone, and a collection of those "political-historical songs" which are too numerous to be inserted in his present volume. His already published writings, it may be remarked, amount to twenty-one. Among those which he has in hand may specially be noticed a projected work, to be styled "Misteri di Lord Byron" (sic), o Rivelazioni intime di Marianna Segati," which will contain, it is said, a number of hitherto unpublished

letters from Lord Byron, as well as other papers relating to his life at Venice.

The Sicilian dialect of the present day includes many foreign words—Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, French, and Spanish aliens, due to the strangers who ruled, or colonized, or visited the island at various times. But the wing of time has swept away all remembrance of the popular songs of Sicily during the Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab epochs. They doubtless once flourished, but they have long ago disappeared. Of recent history poetic illustrations abound, but their numbers rapidly decrease as the date recedes to which they refer. The present volume contains a good many specimens of the popular poetry which the stirring events of the last score of years have evoked; but as they differ but little from those which we noticed when reviewing Dr. Pitre's similar collection of Sicilian Popular songs some three years ago (November 9, 1872), we will not dwell upon them now. The *Canti Sacri*, however, are deserving of notice as representing the genuine and affectionate devotion of the people, their boundless credulity, and the strange medley of Christian and Pagan ideas to which they are addicted. Take, for instance, this well-known legend, as related by a Syracusean minstrel. A mother is told that she cannot be allowed to see her son, an innocent galley-slave, unless she brings with her a hundred pieces of silver. Away she wanders in search of alms, and has just succeeded in scraping together the modest sum of three *carlini*, farthing by farthing, when she finds a priest, apparently dying of hunger. On him she bestows the sum she has collected, asking him to say masses enough in return to liberate a soul from Purgatory. As she wanders on she is presently aware of "the form of a grand cavalier," who listens to her piteous story, and sends her to his castle with a letter to his son, ordering him to pay the hundred pieces. The son marvels greatly, seeing that the letter is in the handwriting of his father, who has now been dead many a year. But when he has heard the whole story, he understands that the poor woman's gift to the priest has brought about his deceased parent's release from purgatory. So he pays the money, with which she hurries joyfully to the captain of the galley. As the captain is "not cruel, but of a good heart, and devout towards God," he is so affected by what she tells him that he returns her the money and makes her a present of her son. The moral is that "almsgiving brings a blessing"—one which always comes home to the hearts of the poor, who in every land listen with special attention to the story of Dives and Lazarus. That story figures in the present volume in the shape of a "tragedia in canzoni." In the opening scene "lu Riceu Euphone" orders his dinner with effusion. Lazarus enters, asking for alms, and is driven away. Presently news arrives of the death of Lazarus. "The Rich Glutton" rejoices at being rid of "that troublesome personage," but soon afterwards expires. In the next scene the glutton is seen carried downwards by Charon. In vain does he appeal to Abraham. He is told that he has not believed "Abbacucu e Geremie" and the other prophets who have inculcated almsgiving, and therefore he is now condemned. Thereupon Charon bears him to hell's gate, where Cerberus receives him as one well fitted "to be eternally with Pluto."

But it is to the songs about love that this collection owes its principal charm. Although its contents are arranged under fifty-nine different heads, yet they chiefly refer to that absorbing passion. Unfortunately it is impossible to give any idea by a translation of their tenderness, their fire, or their melody; and the difficulties involved in their dialect render them, if quoted in the original, somewhat obscure. Thus a song in which a youth upbraids the mistress who has deserted him for another ends with the lines:—

Tu sarai l'acqua, ed io sarò lo vento:
Sciusciu, e ti cacciu davanti di mia.

"Thou shalt be the water and I the wind; I shoo-shoo, and drive thee before me," the cry *shoo* being used in Sicily, as in Scotland and elsewhere, in turning poultry out of a yard, or the like. Another puzzling word occurs in the last line of a complaint in which an ill-used lover accuses Death of having refused to come to his aid, although entreated for two whole years to do so. Death indignantly replies that he is really dead, though he thinks himself alive:—

Vera crudeli la tò amanti ha statu,
Ca ti ammazzau senza 'ndingari a mia.

"Truly cruel has thy mistress been, for she has killed thee without having had recourse to me," the verb *'ndingari* properly meaning to accept a gift from an inferior. Quaint conceits are very dear to the Sicilian mind, and the lover delights in such assertions as that, if his body and his sweetheart's are opened after death, she will be found to have two hearts and he no heart at all; or that, if she looks within his breast, she will find her portrait there instead of his heart:—

Nveci di lu mè cori, anima mia,
Trovì lu tò ritrattu 'ntra stu pettu.

Jealousy gives rise in many songs to strong expressions. Here, for instance, is a complaint from Messina:—

With sorrow and sighing I loved a lady; and now I see her held by another's hand. Not so great is the grief of him who loses relatives, as is that of him who loses her he loves. And to lose her by death, that is nothing. Little by little will his wailings die away. The real misery is when she thou lovest lives—but passes thee by.

Somewhat exaggerated also seem the declarations of a lover who exclaims that he could plant a nut-tree on the sea and make it bear fruit like a myrtle, or that it were for him an easy leap to pluck a

* *Opere di Lionardo Vigo*. Vol. II. Raccolta amplissima di Canti popolari siciliani. Seconda edizione. Catania. 1874.

star from the sky. But to kiss his betrothed, he continues, is not now within his power; and so he has to content himself with kissing the cup whence she has drunk—

Ma la me' zita 'un la pozzi vasari,
E vasu lu biechieri unni vivi idda.

By way of conclusion here are three more specimens. One expresses a girl's views with regard to her two suitors:—

My heart says Yes and No. My head says No and Yes. Fain would I marry Toto; they want to force me to take Cicé. Cicé can never have this heart of mine. My senses say just the same. Before the priest I should say "No." But should Toto come; to him I would say "Yes."

The second is the cry for sympathy of a deserted lover:—

O turtle dove who hast lost the sweet company of thy mate, and fliest wailing through deserts! Come hither, and tell me thy bitter griefs, and I will tell thee mine. Thou lamentest because thy love is dead. I lament one who is living, but who is no longer mine.

The third, which, as the editor declares it to be worthy of being engraved on gold, is given in the original, describes how a fair one sleeps like a rose folded in the bud and dreams of her lover. He kisses her gently, and she awakes and gazes on him. Watching the locks which hang around her neck, and enraptured by her balmy breath, he asks whether any one on earth can be compared with the object of his worship:—

Comu 'na rroce dintra lu buttini
Durmia la bedda, e s'insunnava a mia;
Adaciu, adaciu cci duggn un vasuni,
Si arrishiggia, apri l'occhi e mi talia;
Cci sciaura di canneda in scatuni,
La trizza coddu coddu pinnula;
Guardati si a stu munnu c'è pirsuni
Ca ponnu assimigghiari a la mè Dia!

THE CURATE IN CHARGE.*

IT is a subsidiary triumph of the writing faculty that it can entertain the reader for a time without any distinct subject-matter. The practised pen carries us along through suggestion, speculation, experience, and gentle satire so easily that we do not immediately detect a want. Mrs. Oliphant in the *Curate in Charge* has not much of a story to tell, and is very far from being at home in her subject; yet, by the aid of an easy agreeable style and a general habit of observation, she has produced a novel which carries us pleasantly on to the end. Only by degrees does the reader become alive to the fact that the story makes slow way, and that getting over the ground is no object with the author; and only later still he discerns that the meagreness of her material has been all along a conscious motive for diffuseness, without which the requisite number of pages could not be filled. When a skilled hand is sensible of this necessity, diffuseness becomes a characteristic of style, and ingenuity is put on its mettle to make it a graceful and natural characteristic. A diffuse style is different in its nature from prolixity; it implies more design and organization, and of course there are two opposite ways of telling a story well. Still we think this story would have been diffuse enough if told in one volume instead of two, the rather that amplification betrays the writer's want of real knowledge of her subject, and leads her into a repetition of pictures and images against which our experience rebels.

In the grievance of curates Mrs. Oliphant has found a popular and sensational subject; but, in fact, no one born and bred a Presbyterian can discuss the difficulties and anomalies of the English Church with the understanding of sympathy and long familiarity. She decides on the injustice which attaches to the position of curate without knowing the proper standpoint, and attributes to her characters speculations and indignations that are foreign to their actual circumstances. When her heroine, the Curate's sensible daughter, scorns and almost bullies the incoming Rector for stepping into her father's position and invading his natural rights, she writes what no reasonable Englishwoman could have written. It is an external view. Every curate's daughter fully understands the conditions of the parish which her father serves; and knows that, if it is a College living, a Fellow of the college will succeed to it. To be angry that her father may not remain as rector because he has been twenty years curate shows the temper of a born agitator. The poor girl will have many quarrels with circumstances and society, but that is not likely to be one of them—not, we mean, in any strength or coherence; not one to be set forth with a vehemence that should send the startled and convinced intruder back to his college to see if he could persuade its Head and the Fellows—engaged Fellows—below him to waive their claims and set aside old prescription in favour of the curate in charge. No doubt, in a great many cases where people have to write on a subject, it is a very inconvenient thing, very clipping to the wings of imagination, to know too much about it; and the *Curate in Charge* could never have been written by one intimately conversant with the laws and customs which regulate preferment and the prevalent ideas resulting from them; but, however weighty this consideration, the general fact is an important one to be pressed on the ordinary reader as a motive for keeping his critical faculty in some sort of exercise.

We see at once, however, that the ideal victim and sufferer in this vexed curate question is one quite in Mrs. Oliphant's range. An elderly curate touches on her speciality—one

of her specialities, we should say. She feels herself quite at home in delineating an elderly gentleman, courteous, mildly selfish, the slave of habit, and incapacitated for change by that decay of mind and body which our author uniformly represents as setting in so early in the human race. With that delight in contrasting the pretended superiority of man with woman's practical power, which is common to the lively feminine mind, but exuberant in Mrs. Oliphant, she dwells on the weakness of purpose and imbecility of her hero till our sense of justice is stirred in an opposite direction to that in which she would lead us. The sort of man she describes, we coldly reflect, is made to come to grief, and so we dismiss his case; the parishioners, on the other hand, would have a right to complain, and certainly would complain, if the pastor who in the maturity of his powers has set them so poor an example in the management of his domestic affairs should be fixed for ever upon them in their decline. The truth is, the writer is run away with by the congeniality of her theme, and in fact the merit of her story lies in the delineation of Mr. St. John, and especially when he shows himself weakest and most bewildered—to use her very favourite and often repeated epithet. His character, rather necessarily, wants consistency, as the spirit of the portrait—a very able one—all lies in its domestic aspect, and his ministerial virtues have to be assumed for the sake of the grievance. Perhaps it was his misfortune to have set out in married life with too perfect a wife. The engagement had been a long one, which Mr. St. John had borne almost too patiently; for, though a constant, it was not his nature to be an ardent lover. He marries on being appointed to the sole charge of Brentburn in Berkshire, a village lying on the borders of Ascot Heath; the absentee rector leaving him the rectory and dividing with him the income of 400*l.* Here Mrs. St. John managed to live upon her two hundred a year as few of us can do upon three or four times the sum. Waste was impossible to her; and want appeared as impossible. She guided her house as—well, as only genius can—without any pitiful economies, without any undue sparing, making a kind, warm, benevolent living house of it, and yet keeping within her income. I don't pretend to know how she did it any more than I can tell you how Shakspeare wrote *Hamlet*. It was quite easy to him—and to her; but if one knew how, one would be as great a poet as he was, as great an economist as she.

Such a wife is a positive misfortune if she dies, for the survivor retains false—fatally false—notions of what money can do. Not that these very broad distinctions make the difference between wise and bad management; there is no royal road to economy. Mr. St. John is left thus doubly desolate with two daughters, for whom his compassionate parishioners provide him with a safe governess, carefully chosen for her absence of attractions. Under her the girls grow up, till Cicely, the eldest, is fifteen, when an aunt from London suddenly descends upon the party and pronounces that the girls must go to school at her expense, and the governess must be told that her services are no longer required. There is an inertness in the Curate's nature that only woman can move. His Helen had learnt to doubt his power of taking the initiative even when the chance of marrying came, and he succumbs at once to Aunt Jane's plans, but dares not announce them to his household. To have to tell Miss Brown that her services were no longer required was an effort to which he was unequal. "A more miserable man was not in all the country" than the Curate with this speech yet unspoken. And when the news comes out, and the girls under Miss Brown's magnanimous efforts depart, leaving her behind at the rectory, preparing for her own departure, he has but one suggestion to make—"Would it not be better to stay here, Miss Brown?" On which the lady's sense of propriety naturally bridles:—

The poor curate did not move. He took off the lid of the big inkstand and examined it as if that were what he was thinking of. The Governesses' Institute sounded miserable to him, and what could he do? "Miss Brown," he said in a troubled voice, "if you think you would like to marry me I have no objection; and then you know that you could stay."

"Mr. St. John?"

"Yes; that is the only thing I can think of," he said with a sigh.

And this is how at the end of three years we find Mr. St. John a second time a widower with twin boys in addition to their grown-up sisters, and with 200*l.* a year wherewith to maintain the whole party. We cannot willingly admit the two babies and their nurse as constituting the additional claim upon the patrons of the living which they are assumed to be; but under Mrs. Oliphant's graphic treatment they add to the picturesqueness of the situation, and, to do her justice, she never sacrifices her art or the amusement of her readers to the dry consistency of her moral or to her devotion to the cause she undertakes to advocate. The death of the mother-in-law brings Cicely upon the scene—the image of her own mother, and inheriting her genius, though the condition of affairs is beyond remedy; for she finds her father in debt to every small tradesman in the place, and too passive and too practised in the art of shirking disagreeable topics to be brought even to enter into the subject of his embarrassments. At this stage the Rector, who has lived for twenty years a professed invalid in Italy, dies, and the news descends like a thunderbolt upon the daughters a fortnight after the event. The Curate, true to his character, cannot for some time be got to take in the consequences of the event; and when the ladies of his family urge upon him the duty of applying for the living, he declines, more on the general ground of never asking for anything than as understanding the futility of the application. However, in the speech put into his mouth we recognize feminine daring in unfamiliar regions rather than the bewilderment of any masculine brain:—

"It is my own college, too," he said reflectively, "and I suppose I am now the oldest member of it. It would not be amiss if they let me stay here

* *The Curate in Charge.* By Mrs. Oliphant. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

the rest of my days. But I never was distinguished. I never was a Fellow or anything. I never could push myself forward. No, we must just wait to see what is going to happen."

When the living was announced to the College as vacant, it comes to the choice of Mr. Mildmay, whom Mrs. Oliphant describes as—the ladies' favourite collegiate ideal—a Don. As a Don he seems to have unlimited command of money, an entrance into high society, and all this world's good things at his feet. Thus far Mr. Mildmay has thrown rather an elegant mind into the collection of china, bric-a-brac, and furniture; but he has become alive to the vanity of this pursuit, and awakes to the necessity of living a real life, and on this impulse accepts the living of Brentburn, and comes down to look at the place. Here he encounters the flashing indignant eyes of Cicely, and, probing what they mean, falls into her view—that her father, by all right, ought to be rector—and, after making acquaintance with the Curate, goes back to his College and suggests the thing to the Master, who pooh-poohs it all in a strain with which we are intended by the author to be indignant. Finding also that Ruffhead, the Fellow below him, who is engaged, is equally hard-hearted, Mr. Mildmay decides to hold the living in favour of the curate. The rest of the story, with its real lesson on the supremacy of the female sex in all practical matters, we leave the reader to find out for himself, assuring him on our part that it is all very easy reading when he once falls into the author's pace of telling what there is to tell. The real injury to the parish of Brentburn, the grievance of which its inhabitants have to complain, is the twenty years' non-residence of its absentee rector; for this they would have found little compensation in the appointment of Mr. St. John to the vacant office.

MISS CUSACK'S HISTORY OF CORK.*

WE do not know how a "Kenmare publication" is defined; but from this specimen we gather that, if we wished to know anything about Kenmare, it is not to a Kenmare publication that we should go to learn it. We cannot conceive a better way of having one's mind carried away from the city and county of Cork than studying their history under the guidance of Miss Cusack. That, we find from an advertisement at the end, is the received way of describing the writer; though it appears that she is also more poetically described as "the Nun of Kenmare," and we find that she is "pre-eminently the literary nun of the age." We are not sure that we ever before reviewed a nun; indeed our list of literary nuns would hardly go beyond Abbess Hroswitha and Dame Julian Berners; and we have a sort of notion that some ancient privilege or other, like those which Dr. Stanley never forgets at Westminster, might possibly exempt nuns and their writings both from episcopal and from critical visitation. Besides, we should never have thought of calling a nun "Miss," any more than of calling The O'Donoghue "Mr." We might have been more inclined to speak of "Sister Mary Frances," as one authority does; but the balance of custom seems to lie in favour of the more temporal description, and it is always well to conform to custom when so to do involves no breach of principle. We are told further that Miss Cusack's "cell in the Convent of Poor Clares at Kenmare is no place of indolent repose, but a genuine place of study, a literary workshop of no common merit." But what is most puzzling is that the same page which announces one of the Kenmare publications, the Public Speeches and Letters of O'Connell, also announces "Vermi Paste, for destroying Rats," and other means of destruction for mice and bugs. We thought for a moment whether St. Francis, in his brotherhood with all things living, would not have begged mercy for the bugs, or at any rate have demanded for them a trial at canon law, such as that to which the cockchafer were summoned in the Bishop's court at Lausanne. And we confess that for a moment we doubted whether St. Patrick had not banished all noisome creatures from his island. But we remembered that it was reptiles only, toads and serpents, that he banished, and that he left insects and mammals alone. And we remembered further the "majores mures qui vulgariter vocantur rati," which ate up the books of an Irish Bishop, and were for that crime cursed—seemingly without any legal process—into something like the Buddhist paradise of Nirvana. Where then has that power fled? Has the oppression of the Saxon taken away that ancient gift of cursing in which it is certain that the saints of Ireland once surpassed all men? There must be lack of faith, even in the convent of Poor Clares at Kenmare, when the bugs have to be got rid of by the secular arm in the shape of "Persian Insect Powder," instead of by the anathemas of whoever may be the ecclesiastical superior of Kenmare.

Now we know a little about Kenmare and Sir William Petty out of Lord Macaulay's History; and we also know a little about Cork from the same source and from others. Perhaps the fact about those parts which is likely to make the deepest impression is that it was on the road from Cork to Dublin that the women insisted on kissing James the Second, and that his Majesty gave orders that he was not to be kissed. But it is wonderful how very little more we know about Cork after going through Miss Cusack's large volume on its history. It is not that there is absolutely nothing about Cork in the book. But the things which have most to do with Cork—the natural history, the topography, the municipal history—are all stowed away at the end, and some of them

are not treated by Miss Cusack herself. There is a list of Sheriffs of the county and Mayors of the city, which, with singular perversity, is put in alphabetical order, or rather not in alphabetical order, for Spearing comes before Savage, and Supple before Silver. But even here we learn something. Thus among the Mayors there are many of the name of Sarsfield; among the Sheriffs only one, whose year, by an odd misprint, is given as 1938. Thus we seem to get a special connexion of one of the heroes of Ireland with the city of Cork; but his name occurs only once or twice incidentally at the place where we should specially have looked for it, in the chapter headed "William of Orange." We note that several of the High Sheriffs towards the end of the last century and the beginning of the present are said to have been knighted during office, which certainly is not, in England at least, the manner of High Sheriffs now. There is in these appendices a good deal of local history put together in a rather chaotic shape, and of course Cork is often mentioned, perhaps oftener than any other place in the course of the general narrative. Still Cork only peeps out now and then among other places. The book has really no pretensions to the character of a local history; what there is in it about Cork city and county is altogether smothered by matter about Ireland in general. And what Miss Cusack has to say about Ireland in general comes to little more than telling the old stories over again, and that in a great state of excitement awakened by the late work of Mr. Froude. Now what we think of Mr. Froude's work on Ireland we have said often enough. Miss Cusack may possibly know that we have no more love for Flogging Fitzgerald and his panegyrist than she can have herself. Still we doubt whether much good can come of sneering and nagging at Mr. Froude through page after page; and we are sure that a book of local history is not in any case the right place for it. If Mr. Froude has misrepresented any fact in local history, it is the business of a local historian to point it out. But it is not the business of a local historian to go scoffing at Mr. Froude sometimes by name, sometimes as "a certain historian," on account of general views which concern Cork only as they concern all Ireland. We might grant to human frailty the license of one outpouring of the kind in the course of the book. But a good many pages of it are rather too much. Nor do we know that it is exactly the business of a local historian of Cork to go minutely into the character of Henry the Second. The great lawgiver is in stronger hands than those either of Miss Cusack or of Mr. Froude, and his wonderfully mixed character is not to be judged by little scraps from the declamations of his enemies. And anyhow, it is funny to see Giraldus quoted through "Cambrensis Eversus." And before Miss Cusack or anybody else builds up any theories on the words "oppressor nobilitatis," used more than once by Giraldus in a rage, it would be well for them to see in the more judicial pages of Peter of Blois, and, above all, of Ralph of Coggeshall, what the charge really means.

We do, however, learn one thing about Cork which, if true, would be worth remembering. "In the age of the world 3668, Cork was honoured by becoming the seat of monarchy." It is true that, on turning to the Four Masters, we find that the word Cork must here be taken as meaning, not the city, but the county; but it is something to have faith to believe in Irish chronology in the age of the world 3668. But Miss Cusack boldly believes everything. She asks in her first page, "Why should not the Irish Celt have as ancient and respected traditions as the Assyrian or the Indian?" And presently "The first immigrants of Erin left their archaic markings after them, and the ogham character may well dispute antiquity with the runes of the Scandinavians, or the cuneiform inscriptions of the Assyrians." We should be very glad to have any runes as old as the oldest Assyrian inscriptions, and we should receive with reverence oghams of the same date, if we were certified by competent Celtic scholars that they were of that date. But till we have this, cannot Miss Cusack or anybody else see that the reason why Irish traditions are not as much respected as Assyrian inscriptions is simply because the traditions are traditions, and the inscriptions are inscriptions? And so we have a prodigious deal of the same kind resting on evidence which is discussed in this fashion:—"Keating has given special and very full details of the arrangements at Tara, and it will be remembered that Keating writes from very ancient sources." And we may say that, while complaining of the neglect by English writers of the ancient Irish laws, it is rather unfair to pass by the elaborate use of them which has been made by Sir Henry Maine. But it is most likely in vain to talk about Sir Henry Maine or any other rational writer in the face of this kind of thing:—

All early Irish history points not only to an Eastern but to an Israelitish descent. It is well known that the *Lia Fail*, or "Stone of Destiny," now most probably in Westminster Abbey, is supposed to be a pillar stone used by Jacob, and brought from the East by the *Innaths-de-Dananns*. We have met recently with a curious little pamphlet, which has had a circulation of some 300,000, the object of which is to prove that the whole British nation are descendants of Eastern tribes. This is obviously incorrect as far as the Saxon race are concerned. The subject is so strange and so full of interest, both from historical, ethnological, and religious points of view, that we intend to enter on it fully in a note at the end of the present work.

We have tried in vain to find this note, and there is no index; but it is a certain relief that at any rate "the Saxon race" is let off from any suspicion of Israelitish descent. So in another page Miss Cusack tells us that she "reserves a fuller account of the ancient architecture of Ireland for a future page." That subject, moreover, has been dealt with by a stronger, though a purely Irish, hand, and we hope before long to have something to say about it. And again, we have not been able to find the "fuller ac-

* *A History of the City and County of Cork.* By M. F. Cusack. Kenmare Publications. Dublin : McGlashan & Gill. Cork : Guy. 1875.

count" in the "future page"; but on the opposite page we do find that "as early as fifteen hundred years before the Christian era sumptuary laws were passed to regulate the colours of dress. The Irish Celt was clothed, and well clothed, at a time when the Gaul and the Saxon were half-naked savages." We must leave the Irish Celt and the Gaulish Celt to fight out their own differences, but we do feel a pang at our own modernness when we have to confess that we have no notion whatever how our forefathers were clothed or not clothed in 1500 B.C. All that we can do is to appeal to Trajan's Column for the fact that they were very well and decently clothed about 100 A.D. But we may have our revenge, even at the expense of putting a new weapon into the hands of Mr. Froude. Sumptuary laws are not commonly looked on as signs of wisdom; and, if the Irish were the first nation to decree sumptuary laws, a scoffer of Irish ideas might argue that this proved that the Irish had shot ahead of other nations in the race of what we will delicately call unswiftness. Far be it from us to say that it was so, because we do not profess to know in the least what went on in any part of Europe in 1500 B.C.; but if people will bind themselves to such rash chronology, they must take the consequences.

Here and there up and down the book we do find notices about Cork and its county, and something might doubtless be made out of the topographical guide at the end, which is put in alphabetical order—an arrangement convenient for a guide-book, but hardly for a local history. But why should the Nun of Kenmare come over to England to set us wrong about the burning of Friar Forrest? Now we have the greatest dislike to all burnings of anybody, and the burning of Forrest was on every ground one of the most unjustifiable of all burnings. So far there is no dispute between us and Miss Cusack; but she tells the story of Forrest somewhat differently from Hall:—

The royal process of conversion to the royal opinions had at least the merit of simplicity. There is an old rhyme—one of those old rhymes which are often more effectual in moving the hearts of the multitude than the most eloquent sermons, and truer exponents of popular feeling than Acts of Parliament—which describes the fate of Forrest, the Franciscan friar, confessor of the king's only lawful wife, and the consequences of his temerity in denying the king's supremacy:—

"Forrest, the fryar,
That obstinate lyar,
That wilfully will be dead;
Incontinently
The Gospel doth deny,
The king to be supreme head."

There is a grand and simple irony in this not easily surpassed. Some very evident proofs had been given in England that to deny the king's spiritual supremacy was "wilfully to be dead," although neither the king nor the parliament had vouchsafed to inform their victims in what part of the Gospel the keys of the kingdom of Heaven had been given to a temporal prince. Still, as I have observed, the royal process was extremely simple—if you believed, you were saved; if you doubted, you died.

Now in Hall the fourth line is given, not "incontinently," but "in his contumacy." But the point of the story is that the verses, as well as the other verses about Darvell Gatheren, were not an old rhyme describing the fate of Forrest, but the inscription which was set up in great letters upon the gallows which he died on. Anyhow, what has all this to do with the history of the city and county of Cork?

SHERIDAN KNOWLES ON *MACBETH*.*

IT is not a little singular that Sheridan Knowles's *Lectures on Dramatic Literature* have never been published. In the quotation from the *Noctes Ambrosiana* which stands on the title-page of the Lectures now reproduced, Christopher North says, "Knowles is a delightful fellow and a man of true genius." This is a curious instance of the loose way in which the word "genius" is employed by English writers. By the French the title is bestowed with more discrimination, being reserved for the few who tower among their comrades like Saul. With them Sheridan Knowles would rank as a man of true talent, but not of true genius; for there have been many men of equal powers to his. It must be admitted that the precise French demarcation has the advantage over our helterskelter lavishness of praise. When a man of extraordinary power arises among them, they have his description clear and ready to hand, while we in such a case can only distinguish the supreme from the admirable by a laborious heaping up of epithets. Again, if the title of genius were less carelessly given, it would be less easily usurped. That Sheridan Knowles was not a man of genius in the highest sense of the word is patent from the fact that, although the *Hunchback* is still occasionally performed, none of his plays can be said to have kept the stage. That he was a fine critic, a man who thought well and deeply, and expressed his thought in eloquent language, is evident from the *Lectures on Dramatic Literature*, all of which may, we hope, some day be published. Meanwhile, it was no doubt appropriate to select from among them those which treat of the play that has lately commanded special attention.

It is curious that at the very beginning of Sheridan Knowles's work is found almost its only blunder. The historical materials which Shakespeare had for *Macbeth* were, he says, Macbeth's success against the Norwegians, his murder of Duncan at his wife's instigation, his usurpation, and his death by the hand of Macduff. The opportunity given by the remote period for introducing super-

* *Lectures on Dramatic Literature. Macbeth.* By James Sheridan Knowles. London: Francis Harvey. 1875.

natural scenes and persons was inviting, and therefore "the powers of the air, the mysterious, impalpable ministers that wait on nature's mischief, were summoned to his aid; and in all the potency of prophecy, illusion, and charm, appeared at the invocation of the enchanter." It is easy to believe that, had there been originally no mysterious prompting to spur Macbeth to evil deeds, such a motive might have been added by Shakespeare to the narrative which he took to mould into a tragic drama; but the fact is that Holinshed relates among other facts this one, which he chronicles as simply as the rest, that as Macbeth returned from victory he was met by three women of strange and wild attire, "resembling creatures of an elder world," who greeted him by the titles of Cawdor, Glamis, and King, exactly as they do in the tragedy.

Having noted this slip, we may go on to consider Sheridan Knowles's criticism of the play. As a good deal of one kind and another has been lately said and written concerning the character of Macbeth, it may be well to take the author's estimate of this first. On that subject he observes that "this impression (as to the vastness of the tragedy to be unfolded) is improved in the second scene, in which we are partly enlightened as to the character of Macbeth, by the Sergeant and by Macduff" (here is another slip; it should be Rosse, not Macduff), "who successively describe his prowess to the King, and whose relation tends powerfully to exalt our opinion of the importance of the hero, and to increase our anxiety to see him." This, a good reason enough for not omitting the dialogue between Duncan and the Sergeant, has been dwelt upon by critics of the present day. A yet better reason is given later by Sheridan Knowles. At the end of this scene, it will be remembered, Rosse announces the treason of the Thane of Cawdor, whose death Duncan instantly decrees, and in the same breath sends Rosse to greet Macbeth with the title of Cawdor:—

Except for this preparatory step one of the most striking incidents in the following scene would have been deprived of half its force. The fulfilment of the second witch's prophetic "All hail!" without it would have appeared a mere trick of the dramatist, whereas now it falls out naturally. 'Tis by such means, that of all dramatists Shakespeare comes the nearest to nature. 'Tis thus that he gives plausibility even to the supernatural when he has occasion to resort to it.

One should remember this passage in reading another which comes much later on, and concludes with these words:—"Macbeth is the most melodramatic tragedy in the whole range of the drama, and it is to the credit of Shakespeare that it is so." Melodramatic, that is, in the sense that a constant and overpowering succession of incidents and situations is melodramatic. But the events are exalted into the highest regions of poetry by the dramatist, who commands and knits together the passions and the fortunes of his characters, and never presents a circumstance, important or trifling, with insufficient motive or explanation. A melodramatic writer, to use that epithet in its most common sense, would have thought it much finer to bring the announcement of Macbeth's new title to the audience, as well as to him, straight from the lips of the witches, without any forewarning. He would have been blinded to the true order by the dazzling effect of a moment.

But consideration of these things has led us away from Macbeth himself. Before he appears "he is described to us by his deeds; deeds of prowess almost superhuman. One single arm decides the multitudinous strife of blood, and it is his." When he has been greeted by the weird sisters and observed by Banquo to start, he "cannot, dares not, trust his utterance, but he cannot refrain from betraying what he feels. The remark of Banquo is the officious tongue of Macbeth's thought; it lays open his soul to you to the bottom, as the salutation of the third witch falling upon Macbeth's ear rouses the slumbering demon within him, like a flash of lightning illuminating a cavern, and revealing to you a startled monster crouching there." From this and from the description of how the witches vanish when they have accomplished the "quickening of the evil seed that is to shoot up apace and flourish in baleful, irrepressible rankness," it is evident that the writer supposed, as seems to us natural, that there was at least some vague project of usurpation in Macbeth's mind before he met the weird women. He goes on to point out the deep abstraction which possesses Macbeth after the news of his fresh honour is brought to him, under the influence of which he should, according to the writer, address his thanks to Rosse and Angus mechanically, ignorant that they have changed their place and gone apart with Banquo, so that he should bow to empty air, not turn round deliberately to their new position. In the next scene some fine touches are pointed out:—

From what we perceive of Macbeth when he is first introduced to us he is evidently a man whose nature is not exactly tempered to the commission of crime. He can admit the thought of the murder, but he cannot entertain it without shuddering. He wants provocation to serve his hand for the dagger, and Shakespeare finds it for him in this scene with the advancement of Duncan's eldest son to the principality of Cumberland.

Further than this, the very occasion for carrying out his "black and deep desires" is given in the same scene by Duncan's proposed visit. An instance of the poet's surpassing truth in every lightest word of each of his characters, which might easily pass unnoticed, is dwelt upon. Banquo's answer to Duncan's kindly greeting is short, clear, and evidently heartfelt. Macbeth's is a vapid, but specious, piece of reasoning. In treating of the soliloquy which opens the last scene of the act, the writer points to various passages which show that the Thane had much that was noble in him; he had a moral sense, was jealous of honour, alive to the beauty of virtue, thoughtful of heaven; and was therefore such a man as could only be urged to execute the murder by such an ac-

complice as his wife. This soliloquy, he further thinks, should be delivered with infinite discomfiture and confusion; by fits and starts; and by no means with an appearance of coolness and self-command. When we pass to the scene of the murder, we find our attention drawn to the powerful leading up by degrees to the deed, which we await with trembling lest it be done, and longing that it be done quickly:—"Where there is interest, there is generally a charm in gradual progression. . . . The long, fluctuating, rumbling roll of the thunder communicates to us the full conception of sublimity; but a single clap, howsoever sudden and loud, affects us little more than the close report of a piece of ordnance, or even a fowling-piece discharged unexpectedly." Thus it is not Macbeth, but Banquo, heavy with forebodings, who first appears; and, when the Thane himself comes on, there is yet delay and expectation before his purpose is put in force.

The opinion of Sheridan Knowles, which will probably be held a conceit by most readers, is to be noted, that the dagger is not, as Macbeth thinks, "a dagger of the mind," but an actual apparition raised by the weird women, and coming and vanishing as they do themselves. We have not space to dwell on or even glance at all the pregnant suggestions which are found in the criticism of this scene; we must content ourselves with touching upon what is said at the end of the part or chapter which treats of it. The writer asserts what, until a short time ago, one would have thought required no urging, that the effect of the scene is rather to denounce than recommend crime:—

Contemplate Macbeth in this act, and recall the image of the man who in the third scene of the first act presented himself to you, flushed with the honest pride of victory achieved in a virtuous cause. What is he now? A livid, nerveless, quaking coward, whose eyes are plucked out, as it were, by the sight of that with which the havoc of a hundred fields has made them familiar and perfectly at home.

The remarks upon the last act, valuable as far as they go, are something too brief; and there is scarcely any mention of the banquet scene. Perhaps, in spite of this, we may be allowed to mention a suggestion which seems to us to have some force. It has been the custom to deliver the address to the ghost as though it were inspired merely by terror. Now, taking into consideration the side of the usurper's character which is too often neglected—his overpowering will—it seems tenable that the words "Hence, horrible shadow! unreal mockery, hence!" might rather be an effort overcoming the first horror, and banning the spectre by the mere force of command. The reaction would follow naturally enough afterwards, and in support of the theory it is suggested that the appearance of the Ghost is the last interference of conscience between Macbeth and his crimes. Till then some human scruple has always clung to him; afterwards, no atrocity appalls him. That Macbeth did possess a will which may be compared to that of the first Napoleon is evident from the fact of his placing himself on the throne in spite of all suspicions aroused by Duncan's death; and if, with such a power, he had no weakness of hesitation or remorse, he would have been superhuman.

As to Lady Macbeth's character there has been less discussion than as to her husband's:—

The historical fact [says Sheridan Knowles] that Macbeth was instigated by his wife to murder Duncan, suggested to Shakespeare the character of Lady Macbeth. From this single trait he inferred the whole of the character, for fidelity of keeping and force, if not superior to any, at least inferior to none in the wide range of his immortal drama. Here he has, indeed, realized the highest feat of the terrible in romance, by embodying the spirit of a fiend in a human form—being composed of flesh and blood, and not without the sympathies which result from the living union of such ingredients; but possessing them in utter subserviency to the evil principle. . . . She takes no more account of blood than if it were water. That from the sight of which unused nature instinctively recoils, though shed for a salutary purpose, under circumstances the most revolting, only serves to furnish her with an image of pleasure.—

If he do bleed,
I'll gild the faces of the grooms withal.

She does so, and never hastens to wipe her hands, but brings them reeking, to taunt her pale and quaking husband with their colour.

The writer goes on to speak of Mrs. Siddons's Lady Macbeth. Nothing is so difficult to describe as a fine piece of acting which produces its impression by a gradual harmonious course of effects, some of which, and perhaps among them the touches whose force though the least evident is the greatest, cannot but be slurred in the telling. For this reason anything which conveys so clear a notion to a reader as Sheridan Knowles's writing on this matter is especially valuable. "The Lady Macbeth of Mrs. Siddons," he writes, "was the genius of guilty ambition personified—express in form, in feature, motion, speech; an awe invested her. You felt as if there was a consciousness in the very atmosphere that surrounded her, which communicated its thrill to you. There was something absolutely subduing in her presence—an overpowering something, that commanded silence, or, if you spoke, prevented you from speaking above your breath." Every word of the writer's description has weight, but we must be satisfied with quoting that of the sleep-walking scene, leaving readers to find the rest in its own place:—

But the sleeping scene, where she walks and dreams! I could pity a murderer who should look upon that scene. The ghostly group that enter the tent and surround the couch of Richard bring with them not the terrors of the horror that attends that silent woman, Lady Macbeth walking in her sleep. Though pit, gallery, and boxes were crowded to suffocation, the chill of the grave seemed about you while you looked on her;—there was the hush and the damp of the charnel-house at midnight; you had a feeling as if you and the medical attendant, and lady-in-waiting, were alone with her; your flesh crept and your breathing became uneasy; you felt the tenacious-

ness of the spot which she was trying to rub out upon her hand; while the sigh of her remorse seemed to ascend from an unfathomable abyss of misery and despair.

There is much concerning minor matters in these lectures of which it would be pleasant to speak; but it is enough to say that, if any one wishes to read a fine and eloquent piece of criticism, he cannot do better than go to Sheridan Knowles's *Macbeth*.

THE NEW REFORMATION.*

THE Old Catholic movement has had the good or ill luck to draw upon itself the fire of three parties which have no other bond of union than this common hostility. To discredit, and if possible destroy it, is a matter of life and death to the Ultramontane party, for Ultramontanism and Old Catholicism are the negation of each other. They cannot agree to differ, for their differences are fundamental and necessarily irreconcilable. Till one or the other yields or is crushed a truce between them is logically impossible. And this is equally true of the relation between Old Catholicism on the one hand and scepticism and ultra-Protestantism on the other. For a time both ultra-Protestantism and scepticism adopted the policy of patronizing the Old Catholic movement; the former hoping to utilize it against the historical view of the Church, the latter believing that it would run the career of Lamech and Froeschmanner and reject the Christian faith altogether. The hopes of both have been signally disappointed, and their disappointment has found vent in a bitter resentment not always free from gross misrepresentation. The Old Catholics have taken their stand on history, and history is fatal alike to Ultramontanism and to popular Protestantism. Ultramontanism, in either its ecclesiastical or theological aspect, is unknown to the era of the undisputed General Councils; and the same may be said with equal truth of Calvinism. The Churches of Calvin and of Manning would certainly have been repudiated by Athanasius and Augustine. Neither can have been developed out of the primitive Church, for development must be true to the essential attributes of its germ. "The child is father to the man"; but he cannot be father to a parrot or a chimpanzee. Ultramontanism and Calvinism are not developments, but revolutions, and the logical goal of both is scepticism. Admitting in words that Christianity is a revelation, a body of truth given once for all, they deny it in fact. In both systems the criterion of truth is not history, but individual illumination; in the one case the "verifying faculty" of each Christian; in the other, the "verifying faculty" of one person, to whom the rest have agreed to delegate the exercise of their individual verifications.

It is not surprising, then, that Scepticism, Ultramontanism, and popular Protestantism, should have made common cause against Old Catholicism, and used the volume of "Theodorus" as a fulcrum for their combined assault. "Theodorus" himself, whoever he is, writes in a friendly spirit, and his book is evidently intended to put the position and principles of the Old Catholic party in a favourable light before the English public. But his benevolence is more apparent than his grasp of the question, and these who wish to master the issues involved in the Old Catholic movement must study them in the works of its recognized leaders and writers, such as Schulte, Friedberg, Meier, Langen, Frommann, and Friedrich, to say nothing of Dr. Döllinger. It may suit the tactics of sceptics and Ultramontanes to treat the movement as a "microscopic spiritual faction," whose aims are as contemptible as the number of its adherents. Criticism of this sort may impose upon the ignorant, but the critics themselves can hardly share the misconceptions which they propagate. Nothing, for example, can be more fallacious than to estimate the strength and forecast the future of the Old Catholic movement by the rules of arithmetic. Let us grant, for the sake of argument, that the avowed Old Catholics among German-speaking populations do not exceed two hundred thousand, or even half that number. What then? When the Founder of Christianity left the earth the number of his avowed disciples was "about one hundred and twenty." Yet he would have been a shallow reasoner who would have argued from this that Christianity was but one of the many ephemeral sects which appeared about that time in Judea. When Edward VI. died the English nation submitted, with scarcely a show of resistance, to the rule of the Popish Queen Mary. Did that prove that the previous repudiation of Papal supremacy was merely the crotchet of a few professors and courtiers, and had no root in the national sentiment? The truth is, movements which are destined to succeed are necessarily of slow growth; it is the seed which falls upon stony ground that grows up rapidly, and as rapidly withers. The sympathy of the multitude is of course as necessary to the ultimate success of religious as of political reformations; but the multitude are slow to apprehend the significance of controversies of which the practical bearings do not appear on the surface. It was not because the doctrine of Papal supremacy or of Transubstantiation was capable of being refuted by historical or theological argument that the English Reformation at last succeeded, but because Englishmen resented the intermeddling of an Italian priest in their political and social life. And Luther's doctrine of justification by faith would never have been anything more than a barren speculation if Tetzel had not been there with his budget of in-

* *The New Reformation: a Narrative of the Old Catholic Movement from 1870 to the Present Time.* With an Historical Introduction. By Theodorus. London: Longmans & Co. 1875.

dulgences to give it a practical application. It is fortunate, for many reasons, that the battle of Old Catholicism should be fought on German soil. Nowhere else in the Roman Communion could the requisite learning and tenacity of purpose be found so happily blended. But, on the other hand, Germany offers in some respects a less promising field for the conflict than most other countries in which Roman Catholicism has an established position. Partly in consequence of the culture of its clergy, and partly by reason of its close contact with antagonistic systems, German Catholicism, even in its Ultramontane aspects, is for the most part free from the corruptions in doctrine and discipline which flourish in other countries. There are no crying scandals to which the preachers of Old Catholicism can point to illustrate their polemic against Ultramontanism. Yet he would be a rash man who would thence conclude that the Old Catholic movement has found no response among the Roman Catholic population of Germany. In several districts the people have risen against their Ultramontane pastors, and in more than one parish they have built a church and support a priest of their own.

So far we have argued on the ground selected by the adversaries of the Old Catholic movement. But the success and prospects of the movement cannot, in fact, be estimated fairly on that ground, for the number of its avowed adherents is no measure at all of its strength. The aim of its leaders is not to foment or perpetuate a schism, but to act as a reforming leaven within the Roman Church. They abstained for a considerable time from the formation of separate congregations, and for a still longer time from the creation of an Old Catholic Episcopate. "Theodorus" is quite accurate in saying that "wherever they were not debarred from access to the established ministrations of the Church, it was no part of their policy to found a rival communion." Even now it is no part of their policy to do anything tending to the breaking up of the Church of Rome. Their motto is reform, not revolution, and consequently they do not encourage secession from the ministrations of the ordinary parish priests except when un-Catholic terms of communion are imposed. The result is that sympathy with the Old Catholic movement, and wishes for its success, are by no means confined to those who have openly enrolled themselves under its banner. Even among the clergy a large number would side with Dr. Döllinger if they followed the spontaneous promptings of their consciences; and among the Roman Catholic laity the proportion of sympathizers is much larger.

The Old Catholics have been reproached with courting the aid of Prince Bismarck against their Ultramontane opponents. Bishop Reinkens, however, will be admitted to know more about that matter than the correspondents of English journals; and therefore we quote the following passage from one of his published speeches:—

Our religious struggle against Rome was for a long time exceedingly irksome to the leading statesmen in Germany. We found not the smallest support amongst the governments, and only a partial negative protection.

And certainly the Falk laws are not conceived in the interest of the Old Catholics, nor did they derive any advantage, but much the contrary, from their operation. Indeed it is well known, for it has been publicly stated more than once, that Dr. Döllinger used his personal influence to induce the German Chancellor to mitigate the severity of his legislation against the Ultramontane party. Nor is it at all necessary to credit the Old Catholic leaders with any heroic chivalry in this intervention on behalf of their implacable foes; for their policy was dictated by the commonplace motive of regard for their own interests. The tergiversation of the German Episcopate in imposing as an article of faith a doctrine which they had denounced a short time before as an historical falsehood had shocked the national conscience, and alienated the respect of honest men. But Prince Bismarck's legislation gave the Bishops an opportunity of suffering for conscience sake, and thus of recovering to some extent the respect which, by their previous conduct, they had forfeited. In this way it happened that much of the sympathy which had been naturally attracted by the gallant bearing of Dr. Döllinger and his friends was transferred to their persecutors. What the effect of the Bismarckian legislation may be on the fortunes of Ultramontanism and Old Catholicism respectively, it is as yet too early to predict; but signs are not wanting to show that Ultramontanism may possibly be worsted in the struggle. Symptoms of weariness are visible here and there in the Ultramontane camp, and there are whispers abroad of a possible compromise. If Prince Bismarck succeeds in destroying the seminary system of clerical education, and in compelling the future priesthood of Germany to study in the national Universities, he will have struck a fatal blow at Ultramontanism as far as German Catholicism is concerned; for Vaticanism, Cardinal Manning being witness, cannot stand the scrutiny of independent historical inquiry.

A contemporary which now and then undertakes the defence of Ultramontanism for the purpose, apparently, of damaging the Church of England, asserted not long ago that the dogma of Papal infallibility is "a doctrine in which nothing is new but its official promulgation." This, however, is a sophistical way of stating the matter. It is true that the doctrine is not new as a debatable opinion in the Roman communion; but the "official promulgation" of a debatable opinion is, in fact, a new doctrine. We are told indeed that "there is a complete concurrence of scientific opinion against the allegation that infallibility is a revolutionary novelty." But of what kind of infallibility is this predicated? If the personal infallibility of the Pope is intended, the "concurrence of scientific opinion" is all against it; and nowhere

was this concurrence more conspicuous than in the Vatican Council. The final surrender of the minority is without a parallel in ecclesiastical history. In the Council they rejected the doctrine on the ground that it was inconsistent with the plain facts of history, and in accepting it they have not attempted to reconcile it with historic truth. And so, again, with regard to the ecumenicity and freedom of the Council. The question, as respects the German Episcopate, is not whether the Council was really ecumenical and free, but whether the German Bishops declared that it was neither, and afterwards ate their own words. The following passage, quoted by "Theodorus," from a speech delivered by Bishop Reinkens at the Congress of Cologne, is hardly too severe, all things considered:—

They again and again registered protests against the order of proceeding, and declared that the Council was not free, that its ecumenicity would be disputed; and now they declare that they had after all the requisite freedom. But the documentary evidence to the contrary is still on record in the acts. Further, they have declared in official documents that the doctrine of papal infallibility, both name and thing, was foreign to Christian antiquity; they have testified that even to this day it is unknown in name to entire dioceses and countries; they have boldly expressed their conviction that this is no Catholic doctrine, because it has no place either in Holy Scripture or in the traditions; they have said that if it be elevated into a dogma, the Church would commit suicide. In a paper circulated by Bishop Von Ketteler they have asserted that it would be a spectacle deserving the amazement of all centuries, if by such a dogma the Council should declare itself superfluous; and now they come back and inform us that in substance this dogma has been taught in all centuries. The bishops in Rome stood up as witnesses to the truth, and said, "We bear this witness, because the duty of our office commands us, because our oath requires it; we can testify no otherwise than we do"; and now, where is the duty of their office, where the oath which they swore? They said it would be the destruction of souls; and now they themselves destroy souls! Further, they declared in Rome, "We preach a doctrine of the relation between Church and State very different from the ecclesiastico-political system contained in the bulls of Boniface VIII. and Paul IV."—let us now add in the *Syllabus* of Pius IX.—according to which the Pope's sovereignty was exalted above every state dignity, judges, princes, and nations, constitutions and laws; they protested that it is impossible to remodel civil society by this system; now they come back and feign that they never preached any other doctrine; they attempt the impossible, and wonder that Governments should engage in conflicts with them, when they themselves predicted that a conflict was inevitable! At Rome they proved the design of Pius IX. by a mock council to abolish for ever the wholesome institution of councils; they proved this design by their own experience and from his own briefs, and now they deny what they proved. They registered reclamations and protests against all infringements on their dignity and office at the council on the part of the Pope and his officers, and declared that they only registered these reclamations as *perenne documentum*, as a testimony for ever, whereby before men and the terrible judgment of God they disclaimed the responsibility of all the consequences. Not two months later they took the responsibility upon their own shoulders; and so that document has become a testimony for ever, that in their appeal to God's terrible judgment they played a blasphemous game.

Those who have no access to original information will find the volume of "Theodorus" useful as a book of reference. It does not go deep into the question, nor is it always to be implicitly depended on either in its statement of facts or in its inferences. But it is written in an excellent spirit, and with an evident desire to be fair. We would mention, however, as an instance of hasty inference, the author's assertion that the discussion of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in the Bonn Conference of 1874 "was remarkable for revealing among some members of the Anglican party a certain leaning towards the condemned tenet." And this, though he quotes immediately afterwards Dr. Liddon's emphatic declaration that he "rejected it whether as a dogma or a pious opinion." The author did not intend to misrepresent, else he would not have thus afforded the means of his own refutation; but a writer who was master of his subject would not have committed himself to so conspicuous a blunder.

DEMOSTHENES ON THE CROWN.*

IT would seem that to translate Demosthenes "On the Crown" has been deemed by common consent an appropriatefeat for a lawyer who aims at distinction. Undaunted by the fire of criticism which assailed Lord Brougham's dashing and unequal version, unabashed by the admission of Mr. Charles Rann Kennedy (who, by the way, undertook in the notes to his translation a chivalrous defence of his brilliant predecessor's production) that "he must be a confident man who can satisfy himself upon such a task," not a few of our lawyers have committed themselves to this arduous adventure, whilst many others, we may be sure, have their "Crowns" wrapt up in paper and stowed away in their desks, to issue thence when a spirit of rivalry stimulates them to contend for the palm with the latest comer. It was but five years ago that a scholarly translation came, we fear without attracting much attention, from the pen of Mr. Brandt, a former scholar of Oriel and a member of the Inner Temple; and now Sir Robert Collier, already distinguished as an amateur painter, aspires to give proof of his scholarship as well as his legal acumen and experience by putting forth an English rendering of the most famous speech of the most renowned of Greek orators. In some respects the time of his appearance is fortunate. Greater predecessors have run the gauntlet. Sir R. Collier launches upon a sea where there are beacon lights to warn him, and on which of late years pilots have been multiplied. If some of Whiston's notes in the edition of the

* *The Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown. Translated by the Right Hon. Sir Robert Collier. London: Longmans & Co. 1875.*
Demosthenes and Aeschines on the Crown. By G. A. Simcox, M.A., and W. H. Simcox, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1872.

Bibliotheca Classica are doubtful, no handier or more useful annotated text within small compass than that of the late Mr. Arthur Holmes, of Clare, could be named to the student who wished to feel his way safely through the Greek. On a larger scale, yet in a compendious and convenient shape—especially as it contains within some two hundred and fifty pages the text of the two rival orations on the Crown, with ample notes and able introductory essays—the “Clarendon Press” volume of Messrs. Simcox throws new light on the subject, and brings all needful collateral matter within such compass that no one need be at fault respecting allusion or argument on either side. We do not quite hold with the practice of introductory dissertations stretching over 130 pages, and so discursive as to make us sigh for the old days of Latin notes and prefaces; but at all events a translator now runs much less risk of error, default, or misconstruction than formerly, and we are glad to make this passing recognition of an edition which was overlooked at the time of its publication. Not indeed that it is at all clear that Sir Robert Collier has availed himself of these later editions—possibly he may but have resuscitated and refurbished an early effort—though there are, it seems to us, plain traces of his resort to Mr. Kennedy’s translation for guidance on difficult points, to say nothing of unconscious following in his very word-tracks in level passages. It is hardly possible that in § 7, where the authorship of the laws of Athens is referred to Solon, who is designated *εὐνούς ὁν τιμής καὶ δημοσίων*, Sir Robert Collier is not tracing Mr. Kennedy’s lines when he translates “a friend to you and to popular rights,” as against the other’s, “a man friendly to you and to popular rights.” The opening clause of § 10 runs almost word for word alike in both, and in § 223 Demosthenes’s boast, *ὅτι . . . ἐγώ τὴν τῆς οἰοῖς τάξιν ἐρώτησον οὐκ εἰλιπον*, reappears in Kennedy, “I alone deserted not the patriot’s post in the hour of danger,” and in Collier, “I alone deserted not the patriot’s post in the hour of peril.” It imputes no blame that we note such coincidences, but it may serve to show that the translator of the Oration of the Crown, since the appearance of Bohn’s Classical Series, has his path made smoother for him than it was for Lord Brougham and other lawyers of his day.

In return for such advantages—although deprecating too much introductory and annotatory matter—we look for something further from modern translators; to wit, lucid parallelisms of Attic and English procedure and terminology in regard to the proceedings of the law courts, and clear, though brief, explanations of passing references in the course of the speech. On the first point, there is no fault to find with Sir R. Collier, who in his preface traces very clearly the marked difference between “trial by jury” at Athens and in England, and the restricted functions of the twelve jurymen in the latter as compared with their unlimited province in the former. He defines lucidly the meaning of the *γραφὴ παρανομῶν*, on which so much turns, and what is the distinction between a *ψήφισμα* and a *ρόμος*. The grounds of Aeschines’s indictment against Ctesiphon, and the line of defence adopted by Demosthenes, are stated with commendable succinctness; and here and there a passing criticism, such as the remark upon Demosthenes’s silence as to Aeschines’s imputation to him of bribery being possibly attributable to limited time for speaking (“one advantage, perhaps, of their procedure over ours”), shows a critical study of the whole forensic process, the results of which would have been welcome if even more thickly sown in notes and comments. But though it is conceivable that the translator in this case aims at an approximation in English to the original Greek masterpiece, and would hold that he is translating for the educated and not for the unlearned (a mistake, we suspect, because the only readers of an English Demosthenes will be those who cannot easily follow the Greek), it seems to us that a few brief notes to explain allusions in the course of the speech—e.g. § 29, *Εἰρηθέου πράγμα*; § 87, *τὴν Μυρῶν λείαν καλούμενην*; § 326, *δοτορέοντος*—would not only make his work more acceptable to all possible readers, but also show his own familiarity with the literary stores of the orator he is representing. Such proverbial allusions as the first two of those which we have cited are very germane to the manner of a Greek speech—the second having reference to the defenceless state of the pirate-ridden Mysians in the absence of their king Telephus, and so to all helpless victims; the first to an historical traitor who, having taken Croesus’s money to hire him mercenaries against Cyrus, straightway went and betrayed his employer. Had Sir Robert seen the necessity of inquiring into this latter reference with an eye to a note, he would have discovered that it was not the “part of an Euryalus,” but of an Eurybates, which Demosthenes charged Aeschines with acting.

On the whole it is but fair to admit that the translation before us runs clearly and smoothly, and is calculated to give a good general idea of the arguments, artifices, thrusts, and counter-thrusts of the great orator. If it never rises to eloquence, on the other hand it is never rugged; and if it cannot be charged, to coin a Demosthenic word, with too much “Grecizing,” at any rate it keeps in the main within the limits of textual exactness, and introduces nothing which is not conveyed directly or indirectly by the Greek. There is no pretence at a running commentary, which might have been a convenience and improvement, nor even a division of the speech into sections matching with those of Reiske or other text-makers for the purposes of comparing the Greek and the English. The object, therefore, seems to be to produce an English counterpart, if it may be, of a Greek oratorial masterpiece. One or two passages will suffice to show how far this object is attained. A good sample will be found in pp. 27–8, where Demosthenes

justifies his having opposed subserviency to Philip, and even neutrality, at a time when that tyrant had shown by aggressions on his own allies that his object was simple and unscrupulous self-aggrandizement. “What language,” he asks, “was I to hold when” (cf. §§ 82–3, *ἔρων δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν Φιλίππον—παραχωρῆσαι τῷ Φιλίππῳ*)

I beheld Philip, our antagonist, in pursuit of empire and sovereign sway, submitting to the loss of an eye, the fracture of a collar bone, the mutilation of a hand or leg; in short, readily sacrificing to fortune any portion of his body she might choose to seize upon, so that with the rest he might live in glory and renown? Who will have the audacity to assert that Philip, bred as he was at Pella, then an insignificant town, could possess such elevation of soul as to aspire to and compass the sovereignty of Greece, while you, Athenians, having before you day by day, in all that you hear and all that you see, the memorials of the greatness of your forefathers, could be capable of such degradation as *willingly* and *spontaneously* to surrender to Philip the liberties of Greece? This no man living will dare assert.

In the above passage the original is reproduced with good faith, even to the Englishing of *ἀντεγέλτρον εἰθελοτάς*, words which differ, as Messrs. Simcox point out, as *ultra* and *sponte*; and it would be unfair to deny its general title to a certain force and vigour. Still more so will be found the passage (§§ 218–20) which describes the effect of the news of the fall of Elateia on Athens, and the paralysis of all those who ought to have given counsel at that crisis, until “I, Demosthenes, arose”—until the orator and patriot came out as the man for the emergency. Here are a few lines of it:—

If what was required in the speaker then called for had been anxiety for the public safety, all of you, ay, and every other Athenian too, would have risen in your places, and mounted the tribune, for that you were all anxious to save the country, I know full well; if it had been wealth, the three hundred would have risen; if wealth and patriotism combined, all those who displayed both by the munificence of their subsequent contributions. But that crisis—that day called for a man not merely of wealth and patriotism, but for one who had followed the course of events from their commencement, and had arrived at a thorough comprehension of the motives of Philip’s conduct, and of his ulterior designs; for without such comprehension, without careful study of remote as well as proximate causes, no man, were he ever so wealthy or ever so patriotic, could be qualified to form a sound judgment on the course to be pursued, or to give you trustworthy advice.—P. 68, cf. §§ 221–2.

This is adequately translated without the surplusage which here and there creeps into Sir Robert’s renderings; as where, for instance, at § 110, he expands the question, *τίς δὲ ἦν ὁ τῇ πόλει λέγων καὶ γράψων καὶ πάρτων*, into “But who spoke in your assemblies, who proposed the measures, who saw to their execution?” instead of emulating the succinctness of the original, and of Mr. Kennedy’s version, “But who advised, framed, executed the measures of State?” There are indeed some passages where a little manipulation and reconstruction in the English does fuller justice to the original sense, as in the case of the famous climax, which the ancient rhetoricians were so fond of citing, in § 230, *οὐκ εἴπον μὲν τάπα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐκ ἔγραψα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ, οὐδὲ ἐπρέσβευσα μὲν, οὐκ ἐπεισα δὲ Θεβαίους*. Here there are various devices for giving an equivalent of the Greek construction—that of Kennedy and the Simcoxes, “did not make a speech without proposing a motion, &c.,” coming as near to the force of the Greek as most. It must be owned, however, that Sir R. Collier has hit it off exceedingly happily in his way of putting its stages and steps—namely, “Not only did I make a speech, but I proposed a decree; not only did I propose the decree, but I went on the embassy; not only went I on the embassy, but I prevailed upon the Thebans.”

There is a fine passage much earlier in this oration, to give due force to which it does not seem to have been needful for Sir Robert Collier to alter the order of the original. It is where (§ 120, *πέρας μὲν—διδῷ γενναῖς*) Demosthenes declares what spirit animated the Athenians in lending aid to Corinth and the Thebans in spite of their ill-conduct in the Decelian war, and in face of the predominance of Lacedaemon by sea and land—to wit, a determination to brave defeat in the cause of freedom and generosity. “To all men,” moralizes the orator, “the end of life is death, though one keep shut up in a closet; but it becomes the brave to strive always for honour with a good hope before them, and to endure courageously whatever Heaven ordains.” In the translation before us there is nothing gained by turning it into, “No man can escape death, the termination of all mortal life, by keeping himself hidden in a cellar; the brave should be ever ready to set forth on the path of glory, armed with high hope and courage, prepared to accept without a murmur that fate which Heaven may ordain.” There may be doubts whether a better interpretation of *ἐν οἰκίᾳ* than “closet” or “cellar” (which latter is surely very ignoble) would not be a “birdcage,” or “bird’s nest,” or a dove-cot; and *φέρεις γενναῖς* scarcely calls for such tall translation as “prepared to accept without a murmur”; but certainly the natural order of the Greek needed no transposing. We have also come upon two or three passages in the translation before us which call for some correction. In § 4 Demosthenes says of his antagonist that he has the advantage over himself in his accusation in that, having neither position nor repute, *ἐκ περιουσίας μονον κατηγορεῖ*. This is only vaguely paraphrased in Sir Robert’s rendering, “but as for him he risks nothing which he cannot afford to lose by his wanton accusation”; and we cannot say that Kennedy’s, “The prosecution, however, is play to him,” is a translation that meets the Greek words. The Simcoxes’ version, “I have—I don’t say what, but he can well afford to accuse me,” catches the drift without conveying it; but to our thinking Mr. Holmes alone does justice to the sense by simply rendering *ἐκ περιουσίας* “at a monstrous advan-

tage," an equivalent which implies the whole of what the others have striven to bring out. Again, in § 23, Philip is described, how *αὐτὸς παρεκενάσθη καὶ καὶ πάτων ἐδύνετο*, and this Sir R. Collier loosely renders, "was attaining a power menacing to them all." This, we submit, is not translation. What is wanting is some expression to give the idea of growth of power, and of that power swooping down on its victims. "He was waxing powerful," we might say, "to come down upon us all," or "growing up to the downfall of us all." In § 35, too, the sense of *ἐν τοῖς διοῖς δόδοις θέωροις ἀν* is not given in its full force, which is delicate, with reference to the charge against Demosthenes that he had not moved to exclude Philip's ambassadors from the *reserved seats* at the theatre. It has escaped our latest translator that *ἐν τοῖς διοῖς δόδοις* is a figure of speech by which the price of the seats is put for the seats or the place it purchased. "They might," as Brandt puts it, "have paid their money at the door," or, as Messrs. Simcox render it still more literally, "they might have been spectators in the twopenny seats." To render, as Sir R. Collier does, "But without a decree of exclusion they could have seen the performance for two obols," is to make the point obscure, and is not, strictly speaking, correct.

We readily admit, however, that there is evidence of pains and a desire to be accurate on the face of Sir R. Collier's work, which we take to be meant rather as a literary feat than as a permanent assistance to students or non-students. It is the work of a scholar, not indeed of the stamp of the Messrs. Simcox or of the lamented Mr. Holmes, but of one who has carried to the judicial bench a sufficient residuum of Greek scholarship to plead as a set-off against the Greek and Latin verse and various classical accomplishments of others of its occupants.

THROSTLETHWAITE.*

THROSTLETHWAITE will not disappoint the readers of Miss Morley's first novel, *Aileen Ferrers*; but, at the same time, it will not surprise them by the revelation of any new excellences. *Aileen Ferrers* was written with admirable clearness, correctness, simplicity, and refinement. Its strength lay in the singularity of the central situation, and its weakness in a kind of timidity in dealing with all the sides of that situation. The style in *Throstlethwaite* keeps its purity, and with singular self-restraint Miss Morley resists the temptation to use the descriptive material which lies ready to her hand. She takes her heroine to Homburg, in the "age before morality," and says nothing of Russian countesses, haggard gamblers, and the rest of the stock characters of a Kursaal. She makes her heroine pass a night on the Cumberland hills, and, though she does sketch the dawn, the sketch is in two tints, and the brush is not dipped in the gold, azure, and russet of the word-painter's palette. There is thus nothing to divert the reader's attention from the characters and the plot. If the latter is less strikingly original than that of *Aileen Ferrers*, on the other hand there is some improvement in the fact that the action never drags, and that the story steadily increases in interest to the close.

In *Aileen Ferrers* Miss Morley described the perplexities of a girl of character and cultivation entangled in an odd and romantic love affair with an honest fellow far beneath her in station. In *Throstlethwaite* she describes the troubles of Ruth Charteris, a girl of character and cultivation in a position very usual in novels. Ruth discovers that her lover is not worthy of her, and she has with pain to renounce him. It is no part of Miss Morley's plan to describe with much minuteness the pain and struggle in the heart of her heroine. Ruth has to pass a dark hour, to be sure, but she "determines to do her best to be cheerful and happy." Perhaps she succeeds a little too well in this admirable resolve; perhaps Miss Morley's self-restraint has made her almost tame in this as well as in other passages. This timidity or repression is an error, if it be an error, on the right side, and in any case is a proof of the author's respect for her art. But when it is combined with a certain ignorance of the ways of men, scarcely atoned for by a most amusing knowledge of the ways of women, it lessens the charm of a very engaging story. Possibly with the intention of preventing her readers from thinking her heroine too correct, Miss Morley first introduces them to Ruth Charteris when she is doing something by no means conventional. She is the daughter of a house which an American might style one of the "first families" of the Lake district. While she is walking in a wood near "Brideswater" her dog follows a rabbit down a hole, and is lost. To her, at this moment of need, enters a "Laker." Now a Laker in the language of the first families of that country seems to mean a tourist, and to be a creature held in great contempt. Nevertheless, the Laker helped Ruth to drag out her terrier, and as the business was a long one, he stood in danger of losing his train, which started from a station at the other side of the lake. As Ruth had a boat, and as the Laker could not row, she pulled him across, and thereby incurred the wrath of Leonard Barrington, with whom she had what is called an understanding. Now as this Laker turns out to be a Harrow and Cambridge man, and as he is skilled in everything, from managing land to making picture-frames, and is a "tall man of his hands," besides, it is not easy to see why Miss Morley chose to put him in the ridiculous position of needing a young lady's help to

row a light boat. By way of starting every one fairly, however, she prejudices us against Leonard Barrington too. "What would even Edgar say to your rowing off in that way with any confounded tramping snob who happened to carry a lame dog a few yards for you?" It is thus that Leonard addresses the lady with whom he has an understanding, and, foreseeing that the twain are to be rivals, the reader perhaps inclines to favour the non-rowing Laker.

The nature of Ruth's understanding with Leonard Barrington is so unsatisfactory that one can hardly help sympathizing with the perplexity of his worldly and managing mother and married sister. Barrington has been a companion of the Charteris girls from their childhood, and Ruth has been the confidante of all the phases of his clever and desultory boyhood. This partnership in views has made almost all her education, and when Leonard, after various futile efforts to settle down to business, returns to Brideswater, Ruth and he merge their friendship in an unavowed love. Leonard indeed cannot afford to declare himself, because he has nothing but expectations, and these expectations only begin to look promising at the moment when the story commences. They depend on the death of Frank L'Estrange, the only son of a certain Mrs. L'Estrange who is Barrington's aunt by marriage, and the great lady and moral tyrant of the neighbourhood. As Ruth is sincerely attached both to Mrs. L'Estrange and to Frank, a pleasant boy who does not know that he is dying, she cannot listen with patience to Barrington's speculation about his own chances of becoming Mrs. L'Estrange's heir. Leonard is of so mobile a character, to be sure, that he can abandon the worldly side of the question, and declaim Mr. Tennyson's lines:—

Oh yet we trust that somehow good
Shall be the final goal of ill ;

the "good" in this particular instance being his own succession to the L'Estrange property. But Mrs. Charteris, Ruth's mother, and Agatha, her sister, are much more plain-spoken; and as Frank L'Estrange grows weaker day by day, look on the understanding with Leonard quite favourably. "Of course it is a dreadful thing for Mrs. L'Estrange," says Agatha, "but as far as the outer world is concerned, I dare say Leonard will do just as well as Frank—and of course he will take the name."

It chanced that the position of land agent to Mrs. L'Estrange's estates fell vacant, and Frank set his heart on having a certain friend, Stephen Powys, of whom he had long lost sight, appointed to the position. This Powys was the son of a bankrupt banker, and was believed to be in need of employment. In compliance with the wish of the invalid, Leonard was sent to town to look for Stephen. He returned without him, declared that he had gone to America, or at all events could not be found, and shortly afterwards the "dreadful thing for Mrs. L'Estrange" happened, and Frank died. Mrs. L'Estrange was well aware of the attachment between Leonard and Ruth, but she was also well aware of Leonard's weakness and extravagance. After a sermon of great severity, she promised to make him her heir if for three years he would stick to business in the local bank, and would pay off his own debts in that time. As Leonard is one of the people who, like Becky Sharp, would have found it "easy to be good on five thousand a year," we can scarcely help agreeing with Agatha, the worldly Chorus of the story, that Mrs. L'Estrange is only "offering a premium on hypocrisy." He determines to do his best, however, and Agatha and her husband take Ruth abroad to distract her mind, and, in short, to put her in the way of a new wooer. Now Ruth believed herself to be the last girl to justify the saw, "souvent femme varie":—

Her conception of the sort of affection which alone could justify marriage, or make it possible, had been of a feeling stronger and deeper than any other, about which there could be no mistake, and which must fill the whole being with all the resistless force of an Atlantic tide wave; a feeling which might or might not have to be struggled against, and might even have to be suppressed and silenced, but which certainly could not have another similar affair just precede or just follow it; which might take years, or might only take days, to grow, but which it *must* take more than days or weeks to kill !

At Homburg, however, events happened which not only killed the old feeling, but started a new "Atlantic tide wave" on its resistless course. She met the Laker whom she had rowed across Brideswater. She found out that he was one of the most honourable, earnest, and meritorious of young men, who had given up excellent chances of getting well in life to attend to his step-mother, a weak old lady whose advice in money matters had been the ruin of his father. More than this, the Laker proved to be no Laker, but the long-lost Stephen Powys, whom Leonard had actually met in town, but whom, for reasons of his own, he had represented as having emigrated. The motive of this dishonourable conduct really appears to us scarcely sufficient to have driven a man not without some kind of common sense to so mean a course. To put it shortly, Leonard when in town had been taken by a friend to a gambling house. Powys the virtuous had also been led by an acquaintance into the same scene of dissipation. Both were quite unused to the ways of that bad place, but Leonard played and lost, while Powys only looked on in sorrow, and detected some one cheating. A confused scene followed, in which Leonard found out who Powys was, while Powys was left in the dark as to the personality of Leonard. Now is it likely that Leonard could suppose that, if Powys became Mrs. L'Estrange's land agent, he would tell the story of the gambling quarrel, in which he was himself involved? Men do not tell this sort of tale out of school; at all events they do not tell it to old ladies, especially when they themselves are implicated. Leonard, however,

* *Throstlethwaite*. By Susan Morley. London: Henry S. King & Co.
1875.

we have seen, did not reason in this way, and committed himself to a falsehood.

When Ruth hears of this disgraceful action, she writes at once, though guardedly, to Mrs. L'Estrange, and, more in sorrow than in anger, to Leonard. That shifty youth manages to satisfy Mrs. L'Estrange, but he pains Ruth more than ever by seeing nothing very bad in his own conduct. Time passes, Powys goes to Brideswater, and takes the agency. Ruth returns to her family, and she and Powys begin to fall in love with each other. Leonard all the time tries to do his best at the bank, and makes some money by writing in the magazines. Mrs. L'Estrange forgives him the gambling adventure, which she comes to hear of in a not very probable way. A certain Jack Anderson who was present at the scene insists on talking about it at the top of his voice, in the presence of a number of ladies at a skating party, neither the sort of company nor the sort of place in which men delight to converse about rather disreputable amusements. No one, however, except Powys, Ruth, and Leonard knows the real extent of the young man's iniquity. The position is thus a difficult one, for Leonard is believed by everyone to be engaged to Ruth, while he himself is aware that she knows too much about him, and Powys and Ruth make shy, but obvious, advances to each other.

This state of things might have dragged on for months, if Leonard had not committed himself in a new and scandalous way. Some diamonds had been deposited at the bank in which he was a clerk by a lady who died suddenly abroad. The diamonds were looked for and could not be found, but Leonard's ring was discovered in the drawer where they used to be kept. This happened in his absence, and, as he was expected to return to find a criminal charge against him, Ruth wandered across the mountains in the mist and moonlight, to meet his train at a side station, and give him warning of what was in store for him. Ruth lost her way in the mist, where she was found by Powys. He had been more successful; he had met Leonard before he reached the county town, and found that, as usual, he had a tolerably plausible account to give of the whereabouts of the diamonds. As Powys rowed Ruth across the lake that morning—for he had learnt to row by this time—the pair became satisfied that feelings do not take so very long to kill, and that new Atlantic waves of affection may rise mountains high within a very few months after the old wave has foamed and gone.

Agatha may be allowed to speak the epilogue:—

"Ruth always *was* odd, mamma, you know! And, after all, this is a tolerably harmless form of eccentricity. All things considered, it is not so very bad a match for her, especially in her own country, where her position is safe enough. And then, you know, the Barringtons are none of them strong, and very possibly it may all come right as to Throstlethwaite in the end, though, of course, one mustn't say so."

Mrs. L'Estrange, in short, had given up trying Leonard's virtue and resolution, and had wisely determined to put him out of the reach of mean temptations by making him her heir, with a reversion to Ruth in case he should die childless. That young lady is thus left in a position of happiness and prosperity which her sweeteness of temper, honesty, and frankness deserve. These qualities have from the beginning been so well marked in her that the reader feels as sure that she will come well out of every trial as he does that certain muscular heroes of fiction will always be able to knock their enemies down. Perhaps this absolute security somewhat weakens the interest of *Throstlethwaite*. Miss Morley has been almost perfectly successful within the bounds that she has set herself, but then these bounds are rather narrow. One feels the want of more original motives, more passionate characters, more spontaneous humour, a wider circle of interests, a larger air.

FRENCH LITERATURE.

M. TAINES new work, so long advertised, has at last appeared; it will no doubt attract considerable notice, and it deserves to be closely and carefully studied. Whatever opinion we may have of M. Taine's theories, all competent critics must agree in doing homage to his talent, and, what is more, to the conscientious manner in which he sits down to his self-imposed task. After having, so to speak, sown his wild oats in the clever but somewhat flippant volume on the French Philosophers of the Nineteenth Century, he has gradually assumed a calmer tone; his History of English Literature, with all its imperfections (and they are many), is a remarkable work, and the volume we have now to notice * strikes us as far superior to his former productions. It is evident that, if we wish to appreciate contemporary France with anything like fairness, we must know its antecedents; we must ascertain how the *bourgeoisie*, the clergy, the working classes, and the peasant population have come to be what we see them at the present time. The new order of things has its *raison d'être* in the Revolution; the Revolution, in its turn, is the result of the *ancien régime*; we have here three elements inseparable from one another, and which ought to be studied with equal care. The present volume, devoted to the description of France as it was before 1789, is therefore only the first instalment of a work which will prove, if continued as it is begun, the author's chief title to permanent reputation. Armed with illustrative documents copied and analysed in libraries and in the French Record Office, M. Taine examines minutely the structure of the political edifice; he

then sketches what he terms the "character" of society properly so called—that is to say, the Paris *salons*, their influence and their value as an element in the history of civilization; the third and fourth books are taken up with a discussion of the revolutionary doctrines, their merits, the hold they obtained on the nation, and the means of propaganda they had at their disposal. The concluding part of the volume treats of the proletariat. M. Taine's conclusion is that the history of the privileged classes in France is the history of a long suicide. Suppose a man standing on the top of a very high ladder, and deliberately cutting down from under him the prop by which he is supported; you have in these few words the parable of the *ancien régime*.

Two new periodicals have started in France with the year 1876. It may be remembered that in 1866 the Roman Catholics issued, under the title *Revue des questions historiques*, a quarterly magazine professedly designed to survey the wide expanse of ancient and modern history from the point of view of the strictest orthodoxy; the editors aimed at showing the hollowness of revolutionary and free-thinking doctrines, and at rectifying what they considered to be the fallacies of the school represented in history by such writers as M. Thiers, M. Henry Martin, Mr. Froude, and Mr. Buckle, and in philosophy by M. Renan, M. Littré, &c. The *Revue des questions historiques*, supported by a band of able contributors, has held its ground up to the present time; and the success it has obtained is no doubt the reason why the *Revue historique** now comes forth as a fresh candidate for public favour. The names of MM. G. Monod and G. Fagniez warrant the belief that the new periodical will be ably and fairly conducted. The editors undertake to deal with historical questions on their own merits, and not to allow themselves to be biased by religious or political sympathies; but we cannot help doubting the possibility of discussing points of either Church or secular history without giving an opinion about them. In spite of all declarations to the contrary, the *Revue historique* will be immediately set down as the organ of the Free-thinkers; meanwhile its introductory number is attractive. Besides the opening article on the progress of historical studies in France since the sixteenth century, we notice a curious essay by M. Chéruy on the relations between Saint-Simon and Cardinal Dubois, and M. Sorel's interesting account of the Duke of Brunswick in connexion with the first French Revolution. Mr. S. R. Gardiner is the English correspondent of the *Revue historique*.

The second periodical of which we have to speak is essentially philosophical, in the French sense of the word—that is to say, it deals with metaphysics, ethics, logic, and psychology, concerning itself with natural science only in so far as it affects those branches of speculation.† M. Ribot, the editor of the *Revue philosophique*, professes complete neutrality; he begins by remarking that no common ground has as yet existed in France where the various schools of metaphysics could put forward their respective claims and contend for their several views of truth; this difficulty is now removed, and no one will be able to complain that he has no opportunity of making himself heard. In addition to a few notices of books and journals, the present number contains three important articles—one by M. Taine on the acquisition of language by children and by primitive races; another, from the pen of M. Janet, on final causes; and a third, by Mr. Herbert Spencer (translated into French), on comparative psychology.

M. Claudio Jannet † tells us that he has closely observed the social and political life of the United States of America, and he comes to the conclusion that they are in a condition of decay, which began to manifest itself shortly after Jefferson's Presidency, but which the War of Secession has rapidly developed. M. Le Play introduces the volume by a remarkable preface. The causes of the ruin which threatens the United States, says M. Le Play, are identically the same as those which have been so injurious to France; and the admiration with which De Tocqueville and other Liberals regard the institutions of North America is, he considers, an error against which it is impossible to protest too loudly. To begin at the beginning, the intervention of the French Government in 1778 between England and its colonies was an act of suicide on the part of Louis XVI.; and the treaty negotiated through the mediation of Franklin was a flagrant violation of the principles of international law. Whilst La Fayette, carried away by a foolish admiration of Republican principles, did his best to encourage contempt for authority, Jefferson endeavoured, on his side, to destroy the notions of order, religion, and morality which the early colonists had brought with them from the mother-country; so that, whilst in England, thanks to the influence of Johnson and Burke, the governing classes made rapid strides in the right direction, the contrary has been the case on the other side of the Atlantic, where even religion itself is gradually losing its hold on the population. La Fayette and De Tocqueville fell into the error of believing that the early prosperity of the United States was the result of Republican institutions, whereas it really originated with the virtues of men trained under the English monarchical régime. M. Le Play is of opinion that since the publication of Rousseau's *Contrat social* no work has done so much harm as De Tocqueville's *Démocratie en Amérique*, and M. Jannet's volume is taken up with a demonstration of the same

* *Revue historique*. Publié par G. Monod et G. Fagniez. Part I. Paris: Germier-Baillière.

† *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger*. Publié par Th. Ribot. Part I. Paris: Germier-Baillière.

‡ *Les États-Unis contemporains*. Par Claudio Jannet, ouvrage précédé d'une lettre par M. Le Play. Paris: Plon.

* *Les origines de la France contemporaine*. Par H. Taine. Vol. I. L'ancien régime. Paris and London: L. Hachette & Co.

proposition. Our author, whilst discussing the affairs of the American Union, professedly writes for the edification of his own fellow-citizens. His remarks on the sovereignty of the people, and on the necessity of limiting universal suffrage, are obviously intended as applicable to France, and M. Gambetta is sharply criticized under the person of General Grant.

The third series of M. Van de Weyer's *Opuscules** is a posthumous work, and it is accompanied by a biographical introduction which is full of melancholy interest. The essays themselves are of the most varied kind, including short philosophical papers, literary articles, one or two political critiques, and even poetical effusions. M. Van de Weyer has left behind him a reputation which many public characters might envy; and all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance will readily endorse the following remarks uttered by one well qualified to speak on the subject:—"He was singularly truthful, simple, and gentle-hearted. A rare quality of unselfishness was peculiar to him, acting upon a principle which was implied but never expressed, that the duty and happiness of man lay, after all, in living for others, and not for himself." The article entitled "Il faut savoir dire non" is an excellent specimen of M. Van de Weyer's literary talent, and it enforces a precept upon which even the kindest-hearted persons often find it necessary to act.

At the present time information about Montenegro and the Herzegovina is specially valuable, provided it be trustworthy. We have therefore turned with interest to the new volume† published by M. Plon. Nor have we been disappointed. Messrs. Foilley and Wlahovitj are not to be confounded with the usual herd of tourists. A residence of five years in the Slavonic provinces of the Ottoman Empire enables them to give us a mass of information as to the institutions, government, and political life of those districts which travellers in general would either be unable to supply or would perhaps consider as dull and heavy. A valuable historical introduction opens the volume; details on physical science come next; and, after having described the habits and customs of the Montenegrins, and taken us on a tour from Trieste to Ostrog, the authors devote a series of chapters to political considerations. The particulars given respecting Prince Nicholas I. are unusually interesting. The descriptions of the microscopic Court of Montenegro, with its mixture of feudal and Eastern manners, the narrative of the insurrection of 1869, and the discussion of the claims of the Montenegrins to independence, are all well calculated to arrest the attention of the reader. The volume is illustrated with a good map and ten woodcuts.

One of the most interesting series of volumes in the late M. Jannet's *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne* was the collection edited by M. A. de Montaignon under the title *Recueil de poésies françaises des quinzième et seizième siècles*; it had reached its ninth volume, and was intended to be completed by one more, containing a glossary and index. But in the meanwhile M. James de Rothschild placed at M. de Montaignon's disposal a large number of poems belonging to the same category which had the merit either of extreme rarity or of having never been printed before. Thus it is that the *Recueil de poésies* will extend probably to twenty volumes instead of ten, and the learning of M. de Rothschild is now called in to supplement that of the accomplished lecturer at the École des Chartes. The present duodecimo‡ contains twenty-three pieces, all extremely curious and of rare occurrence; some of them had escaped Brunet's notice; of others only a single copy was known to exist; most lay concealed in the libraries of Paris, Geneva, and London; a few are taken from the private collections of bibliophiles. At a recent sitting of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, M. N. de Wailly pointed out the philological importance of the volume before us; some of the pieces, although written in the sorriest doggerel, are highly valuable in an historical point of view, and the annotations and introductory remarks deserve also to be mentioned.

M. Eugène Réaume has made a special study of the French authors of the Renaissance period; in 1869 he published a volume of notices devoted to the prose writers of that time, and he has since been engaged on an edition of Agrippa d'Aubigné's works. The present book §, got up in the most unpretending manner, is intended for school purposes; it is an excellent protest against the popular fallacy of holding up the great writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries exclusively to the admiration of young students; and its aim is to answer the requirements of the educational programme of 1874, which at last places Montaigne, Amyot, Ronsard, and L'Hôpital on the list of authors to be studied by the pupils of the French Lycées. The volume begins with a short historical preface on the general character of the Renaissance and Reformation era; a philological essay comes next, in which the author discusses the principal features of sixteenth-century grammar; then follow the illustrative extracts, each contributor being dealt with in a concise biographical sketch, and the prose writers being separated from the poets by dramatic specimens to which Jodelle, Larivière, Garnier, Grevin, and others have supplied various choice pieces. M. Réaume's account of the old French stage, added as a preface to this part of the volume, is not its least interesting feature. The notes are copious, the glossary of archaisms is very

complete, and the alphabetical index of persons quoted or alluded to terminates what we must pronounce to be one of the best school books lately published.

M. Meunier, Professor of Geology at the Paris Museum of Natural History, has brought out two works which deserve far fuller notice than we can now give them. The lectures on comparative geology must be named first*, and although the word "geology" may perhaps be objected to as unsuitable in a book treating, not of the earth alone, but of all the planetary bodies, it is difficult to say what other word could have been selected. M. Meunier's researches into the phenomena connected with light, and into the mass, the rapidity, and the general characteristics of the planets, are highly interesting; but perhaps the most striking thing in the work is the chain of inferences derived from the author's observations. Adopting a cosmogonic theory akin to that of Laplace, which he, however, completes, M. Meunier considers our solar system as one grand geological whole; the planets are fragments of it, successively detached from the central mass, this mass itself still subsisting as an incandescent substance in the sun.

Another work† for which we are indebted to M. Meunier may be considered as forming part of the history of Paris. Cuvier and Brongniart had already examined the geology of that city and its environs in a book the last edition of which was published forty years ago. Viscount d'Archiac's *Histoire des progrès de la géologie*, issued in 1851, contains also a chapter on the same subject; but even since that comparatively recent period discoveries of every kind have been made in the various branches of geological science, so far as Paris is concerned, and we have to thank M. Meunier for giving us the result of these discoveries. Not that he appears in this volume as a mere reporter of other men's researches; on the contrary, many of the observations made are entirely his own, and they bear evidence to his scientific attainments.

The Académie Française has already twice awarded a prize to Mme. Blanchecotte for her useful contributions to ethical science; and the present volume sustains her reputation. As the title sufficiently shows, it is the result of observations made during a life-time. Man, says Mme. Blanchecotte, may be compared to a traveller *en route* for eternity; he sketches, whilst on his way, the most striking landscapes; he notes down the best hotels, the safest encampments, the shortest roads; he records likewise the dangerous and treacherous paths; and generously bequeaths to those who shall follow him the results of his experience. Remarking on the frequent cases of suicide which appear in the columns of the French newspapers, the author traces them to the want of faith characteristic of the present generation; it is high time, she says, that some attempt should be made to raise men from the depths of selfishness and materialism into which they have sunk; and Mme. Blanchecotte's ambition is to play her part, however small, in the work of regeneration. Hence this book, composed of detached thoughts classified under various heads; we recommend especially the chapter entitled "Lettres à nobody."

"Sonnet . . . c'est un sonnet," exclaimed Trissotin of yore. In the volume before us § we find no fewer than one hundred and forty of these small poems. They are divided into sets of ten; eight sets representing the period comprised between Mellin de Saint-Gelais and Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, whilst the nineteenth century claims all the rest. We have it on Boileau's authority that

Un sonnet sans défaut vaut seul un long poème;

and some of those included in this collection are certainly gems of this kind; a few made quite a commotion at the time when they appeared, and persons acquainted with the French literature of the *Précieux* style could tell us how the Uranistes headed by Voiture, and the Jobelins conducted by Benserade, fought it out in Mme. de Rambouillet's *salon*. We cannot say that sonnet literature improves as we draw nearer our own days, and there is not one of these compositions belonging to contemporary authors that can be compared with the *chefs-d'œuvre* produced by Ronsard, Clement Marot, or even Charleval. The famous sonnet composed by Desbarreaux after his conversion has never yet been equalled, and Scarron's *sonnet comique* is in its way a perfect wonder. M. Asselineau, the learned editor of this volume, has given in an excellent historical introduction a complete account of sonnet-writing in France since its origin, and the notes supply likewise a variety of useful illustrations; but we are bound to say that the poems contributed by our own epoch might very profitably have been curtailed.

After MM. Ducis, Letourneur, Guizot, François-Victor Hugo, E. Montégut, and Benjamin Laroche, another scholar has endeavoured to grapple with Shakespeare, and to clothe him in a French dress. The difficulty which M. Alcide Cayrou had to overcome was unusually great, for his translation|| is not a commonplace prose rendering of the original; he applies the formal Alexandrine to the English dramatist, and the necessities of rhyme oblige him more than once either to sacrifice accuracy or

* *Cours de géologie comparée.* Par Stanislas Meunier. Paris: Didot.

† *Cours de géologie des environs de Paris.* Par Stanislas Meunier. Paris: J. B. Bailliére.

‡ *Le long de la vie; nouvelles impressions d'une femme.* Par Mme. Blanchecotte. Paris: Didier.

§ *Le livre des sonnets.* Paris: Lemorre.

|| *Chefs-d'œuvre de Shakespeare traduits en vers.* Par M. Alcide Cayrou. Paris: Plon.

* *Opuscules de Sylvain Van de Weyer.* 3^e série. London: Trübner.
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‡ *Recueil de poésies françaises des XV^e et XVI^e siècles.* Publié par M. Anatole de Montaignon. Vol. 1^e. Paris: Dufilé.

§ *Morceaux choisis des prosateurs et poëtes français du XVI^e siècle, avec introduction, notices, etc.* Par Eugène Réaume. Paris: Belin.

to introduce superfluous words belonging to the class of what our neighbours call *chevilles*. The plays selected for translation are *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*. M. Mézières, recently elected a member of the French Academy, and thoroughly acquainted with the dramatic literature of the Elizabethan era, has added a preface, which is somewhat disappointing by its brevity and meagreness. M. Cayrou's enthusiasm for Shakspeare is most creditable; but we must say that, whatever liberties may be taken with the Racinean Alexandrine (and they are such in these two volumes that several of the passages read like prose), it utterly fails in the present instance. German is the only adequate language for a metrical translation of Shakspeare, and the French must remain satisfied with a prose version aiming solely at accuracy.

M. Marius Topin is already favourably known by a volume on the Man with the Iron Mask. We reviewed it some time ago, and did justice to the author's learning, although we could not satisfy ourselves that he had solved the mysterious problem which has puzzled so many before him. On the present occasion he attempts * to prove a thesis put forth originally by M. Cousin, to the effect that Louis XIII. really countenanced Richelieu's policy, and admired it, instead of being the weak, wavering monarch that historians represent him to have been, obliged to bend under the Cardinal's yoke. M. Topin has had the opportunity of studying upwards of two hundred letters in the King's own handwriting, addressed to Richelieu, and it is chiefly on this mass of evidence that he takes up his position for the purpose of rehabilitating the memory of Louis XIII. The volume before us is divided into three parts; the first being devoted to a brief sketch of the reign. With the help of documents found by him in the French Foreign Office, M. Topin is enabled to correct many blunders which had been received as facts by the best writers, even by M. Cousin and M. Avenel, the learned editor of Richelieu's correspondence. The second part of the work comprises the letters discovered by M. Topin; they embrace the period of twenty years beginning with the death of Constable de Luynes, and are copiously illustrated with notes and historical commentaries. Finally, we have an account of the last days of Louis XIII. and Richelieu, ending with a general estimate of the King and his illustrious Minister. If Richelieu obtained such extraordinary power, it was merely, says our author, because the King was actuated by enlightened patriotism, and the Cardinal was unreservedly devoted to the interests of France. It need scarcely be proved that Richelieu's unquestionable genius is in no way diminished by the fact that Louis XIII. was not a *roi-fainéant*.

M. Jules Arène, who has spent some time in China, now gives us the result of his impressions.† We are not asked here to study the "Celestial Empire" in its classical dress, as the works of MM. Stanislas Julien and Panthier present it to us. M. Jules Arène's Chinaman is the regular "heathen Chinee" of the nineteenth century—that is to say, a specimen of all the worst qualities which belong to the human race; the poetry he writes is as inferior to that which we have been accustomed to admire as the famous "willow-pattern" dinner service is to old china; and if under the Ming dynasty John Chinaman's code of morality was of a somewhat loose character, it suggested at any rate lyrics and tales far superior to those quoted by M. Arène.

It is possible, however, that our traveller may have calumniated the ladies of the "Celestial Empire," just as M. Ernest d'Hervilly, if report speaks truly, has grossly misrepresented *mesdames les Parisiennes*. We hope, at all events, that the objectionable stories introduced by M. d'Hervilly in his volume will not be regarded as specimens of Parisian life in the best sense of the word.

The January number of the *Bibliothèque universelle* is§ a good beginning of the volume for 1876. M. de Montalembert's essay on Spanish history, rejected by the *Correspondant* on account of its Liberal tone, and M. Talliche's biographical sketch of Alexandre Vinet, are excellent articles.

* *Louis XIII et Richelieu ; étude historique.* Par Marius Topin. Paris : Didier.

† *La Chine familière et galante.* Par Jules Arène. Paris : Charpentier.

‡ *Mesdames les Parisiennes.* Par Ernest d'Hervilly. Paris : Charpentier.

§ *La Bibliothèque universelle.* Janvier 1876. Lausanne : Bridel.

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The Saturday Review.

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